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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A DECADE OF THE SLAVE POWER.

"THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION, AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY, THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

No. 8.

While the *Omnibus Bill* was still under debate in the Senate, President Taylor died, on the 9th of July, 1848. All uncertainty was at an end respecting the policy of the new Administration, when, after a few days, a Cabinet was selected, and Mr. Webster took the reins of Government in Mr. Vice President Fillmore's name. Not only was the old *Ordinance of* '87 abandoned—that had been abandoned in the previous February, and was not to be revived—the *non-intervention* policy, first of General Cass, then of President Taylor, was abandoned also. And the thorough, root-and-branch Slave Power policy of Mr. Webster's recent adhesion was installed in the high places of the White House and the Departments.

The Omnibus Bill failed. Its theory had been, that objections on the part of this or that interest to one or another of its provisions would be overcome by desire to advance some other object among those proposed; and that thus, by combining a variety of measures in one enactment, votes might be secured for the whole which would be withheld from the parts. The result of a discussion protracted till near the end of summer showed this to be a mistaken calculation. For opposite reasons, a number of Senators sufficient to defeat the measure found themselves dissatisfied with it as a whole; and successive votes in that branch stripped it, one after another, of all its fair proportions, till, on the 1st of August, it went down to the House, where it was received with peals of laughter, as "An Act to provide for the Territorial Government of Utah."

But as far as possible was the intelligent Power that governs us from having been baffled. The course of the long debate had only pointed out its way to the attainment of its end. Four days after, Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, introduced his "Bill proposing to the State of Texas the establishment of her northern and western boundaries, the relinquishment by said State of all territory claimed by her exterior to said boundaries, and of all her claim upon the United States;" by which bill seventy or eighty thousand square miles of territory belonging to New Mexico, and as yet to Freedom, were ceded outright to Texas and Slavery, and ten millions of dollars were given to Texas for abandoning the rest of her impudent claim. Here was the place where discerning people, alike friends and foes to the measures in progress, well understood that a stand was to be made, if anywhere. Here it was accordingly that the stand actually was made presently after in the House. But the defeat of the pending measures was not in the *programme* of the opposition in the Senate. Just enough New England Whigs voted for the Texas Boundary Bill to carry it. If Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, lately appointed by Governor Briggs to fill the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Webster's resignation, and Mr. Davis, his colleague, and Mr. Smith, lately his Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, and Mr. Phelps, of Vermont, and the two Rhode Island Senators, had gone against the bill, instead of going for it, as they did, it would have been defeated, and the managers would have had to stop where they were, or begin again. It was of no consequence that four of those gentlemen, a fortnight later, recorded their names against the Fugitive Slave Bill. If they intended to maintain the inner works, they should have defended the outpost.

From the time of the passage of the Texas Boundary Bill, the Slave Power and its tool, Mr. Fillmore's Administration, had a free course before them. It was followed, in due time, by bills giving Territorial Governments, without the *Ordinance*, to New Mexico and Utah, and by the horrible Fugitive Slave Bill. California, which had presented itself with a free State Constitution, was of course admitted—that there was no help for; the prolonged resistance to its admission had been only a game to extort the highest terms; and a very thin coat of sugar was put around the fatal pill, in the shape an act—not at all to abolish Slavery in the District—not at all to abolish the slave trade in the District, but to forbid bringing slaves into the District as merchandise, and to authorize the cities of Washington and Georgetown to break up jails used for the confinement of slaves brought into them with that view. The slave-markets for strangers were thrust across the city line, the distance of a pleasant walk.

The House made as short work with the business as circumstances permitted. It got through the whole in nine days. The longest, and the test struggle, was on the Texas Boundary Bill. Three days was that measure of dreadful significance, and still more dreadful augury, contested with skilful and vigorous determination, by a band of patriotic men, who for a while were able to keep a sufficient number of their associates up to their work. On the 4th of September, it was refused a passage to a third reading, by a vote of 126 to 80. The next morning, a reconsideration prevailed by a vote of 131 to 75. Again, on that day a third reading was refused by 107 yeas to 99 nays. Here, according to all parliamentary rules, was an end to the question; for a second motion to reconsider cannot be entertained; and it seemed as if Almighty Goodness had stricken down the adversary at the height of his insolent hope, and that a universal Hallelujah might go up from the free and generous of all lands.

But a motion for a second reconsideration was made. The Speaker, Southern slaveholder as he was, could do no otherwise than to declare it out of order. But the House, on appeal, overruled the decision by a vote of 123 to 83, and then, under the pressure of the *previous question*, moved by a member from Texas, who had hitherto professed to be in opposition, passed the bill by 108 votes to 97. That hour, Texas scrip rose from almost nothing to *par*, so that a piece of paper, scarcely worth keeping, with the figure one and three ciphers inscribed upon it, became worth a thousand dollars in gold and silver coin. How much work Texan scrip did in those three important nights, who knows but God and guilty men?

The rest of the budget of measures were adopted, almost as of course. On the Fugitive Slave Bill only one speech was made, and that by an advocate, Mr. Thompson, of Pennsylvania, who concluded by moving the *previous question*. Without the bill having been committed, or even printed, the motion prevailed by a vote of 87 to 69, and the bill was passed by 109 to 75. The *mission* of the Thirty-first Congress was accomplished. It transacted its formal business, and adjourned its first session at the close of September.

Mr. Fillmore's Southern friends claimed for him a large share of the credit of these transactions. "The President," said Mr. Gentry, of Tennessee, in a speech at Nashville, in March, 1851, "openly and fearlessly directed all the influences which legitimately attach to his high position, in support of those bills then pending in Congress, generally known as the *Compromise Measures, and under his auspices they became laws.*" And Mr. Foote, Senator from Mississippi, declared in a speech in California, the following year, that, after a conference with him, Mr. Fillmore, then Vice President, furnished him with a list of Northern nominees, understood to be hostile to the compromises, to the end of their being rejected for that reason by the Senate, which operation was accordingly effected; and that, presently after his accession to the Presidency, he withdrew such nominations of the same class as still remained to be acted on.

In the spirit of that delusion and hypocrisy which had been practiced throughout, these shocking measures were called measures of "adjustment," of "compromise," of "pacification." "When they have made a desert," said the old historian, "they call it peace." But, notwithstanding the marvellous spring with which in ten months the Slave Power had arisen from a condition of apparent discomfiture to the most palmy greatness it had ever known, some excitement was reasonably looked for among the disappointed and outraged freemen of the North. And the apprehension proved well founded, when, in large and enthusiastic meetings held in many Northern cities, the law and its promoters were condemned in the most earnest terms.

Proper pains were taken to manage the crisis. As to part of the ruin which had been wrought, it was obviously irremediable; it was impossible to recover to liberty the tens of thousands of miles of territory which had been taken from New Mexico for Texas. Part was still, in a sense, contingent; there was still fair reason to hope that Slavery would not get into New Mexico and Utah, though the bars which should have excluded it were thrown down. The most serious immediate apprehension which was felt was for the effect that would be produced by the actual operation of the Fugitive Slave Law. For terrible misery, actually presented to the view, will move human hearts.

In some parts of the country, this required delicate treatment; and some of the Northern papers in the interest of the Administration, to retain their partisans, appeared to fall in with the prevailing feeling, insisted that the Administration was not responsible for what had been done, and encouraged the hope of repeal, or, more commonly, of what they called "amendment and modification," at some future time. But among the foremost politicans the current set the other way, and all serious expectation of that kind was discouraged by the vigorous displays which were made of determination to maintain the ground which had been won. Forty or fifty members of Congress—a quarter of them from the free States—entered into what they called a "Union League," pledging themselves to vote for no man for office who was not an advocate of the "Compromise Measures." And in several of the cities were held what were called *Union Meetings*, in which those measures were extolled, and opponents of them denounced, in speeches by members of both the old political parties.

Rarely, in all the ages of recorded time, had any event spread such wide distress and dismay as the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill. Large numbers of fugitives, who for long years had considered themselves out of danger, who had reared families, acquired some education and property, and formed the habits and characters of freemen, found themselves compelled to choose between flight to another country, and hazarding the unutterable sorrow of being returned to bondage. How widely spread was this misery, may be partly judged from such facts as that a hundred and thirty communicants of one church in Buffalo, New York, left their homes at once for exile in Canada; that the Colored Baptist Church at Rochester lost all but two of a hundred and fourteen communicants; and the Colored Baptist Church at Detroit, eighty-four communicants, in the same way.

Nor was the consternation confined to fugitives. The nefarious law had taken away everything that can be called security, even from colored natives of the free States; and men, as free by all titles as the Governor of New York, reasonably trembled night and day, before what placed them and their wives and children at at the mercy of any kidnapper who would but make a false oath. Nor is trifling account to be made of the burning sense of wrong on the part of men of thought and of honour, in view of the disgrace brought upon their country, the insult offered to every principle they revered, the hideous service which the law undertook to impose on themselves.

The mischief was done, the shame was complete, so far as depended on legislation. But the decrees of the Devil work weakly, where there is a moral sense in a people. When twelve months had passed, after the Fugitive Slave Bill went through the forms of law, not twelve fugitives had been carried back by force of it from the free States.

They tried the experiment first in New York and Philadelphia. In eight days from the date of President Fillmore's signature to the Bill, Hamlet, a mulatto communicant of the Methodist Church, was arrested in the former city, and, having been adjudged a fugitive by the Commissioner, was put in irons, and by a grandson of Colonel Tallmadge of the Revolutionary War, acting for the Marshal, was conveyed (his wife and children being still ignorant of his fate) to Slatter's slave jail in Baltimore. This was too bad for the hearts of Wall Street to bear, and money was presently raised for his liberation.

Adam Gibson was next carried from Philadelphia, agreeably to a decree of Mr. Commissioner Ingraham, who said he had "no doubt of the prisoner's identity." But, on arriving in Maryland, it turned out that the Commissioner was mistaken; that Gibson was not the man sent for; and he was allowed to go back. Then Henry Long, who by the help of good legal counsel had got clear of one Hall—who had taken jurisdiction of his case in New York, pretending to be a Commissioner, but who turned out to be none—was, by the decree of a better qualified magistrate, transported to Virginia, thence to be sold into Georgia, there to make trouble by "preaching freedom," as we learned from the local prints.

A man claimed in Detroit asked for time to send for his *free papers* to Cincinnati, where he declared that they had been left. But the Commissioner said that, if they were in court, he had no right to look at them, and that he must proceed to make a decree on the affidavit of the claimant.

William and Ellen Crafts, the latter personating, in male attire, a young planter travelling with his servant, made their way to Boston, where pursuers found them out. Crafts declared that he meant to have a jury trial, and armed and fortified himself accordingly. This understood, the Marshal and his people let him alone; and the hero Crafts, and the heroine, his wife, are now in safety and honor in England. With Shadrach, the second Boston case, things went no better. A mob of people of his own color took him out of the hands of the Marshal's force in the Court-house, and he is now said to be enjoying his freedom in Canada. His escape occasioned a proclamation by the President of the United States. For Sims, more machinery was set in motion. Boston was a garrisoned town while the poor boy was in custody. The judges of Massachusetts went to their seats under the chains stretched around his prison in the Court-house. For him, process of the august Commonwealth remained unexecuted in the Sheriff's hands. At peep of day, the Mayor marched at the head of the procession which accompanied him to the embarkation for his voyage. In their way down State street, they trod over the spot where the black martyr, Attucks, fell, in the gray dawn of the Revolution, on the 5th of March, 1770.

A NEW MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.—Prof. Michael Turner, a Hungarian, intends to introduce, at a concert in Philadelphia, a new musical instrument, called the Zither. It resembles a guitar, has twenty-six strings, and is played on with both hands. Another has three strings, played with one hand, and bowed with the other, the instrument resting on a table.

For the National Era.

GOING UP AND COMING DOWN.

BY MARY FRANCES TYLER TUCKER.

This is a simple song, 'tis true,
  My songs are never over-nice;
And yet I'll try and scatter through,
  A little pinch of good advice.
Then listen, pompous friend, and learn,
  Never to boast of much renown;
For fortune's wheel is on the turn,
  And some go up, and some come down.

I know a vast amount of stocks,
  A vast amount of pride insures;
But Fate has picked so many locks,
  I wouldn't like to warrant yours.
Remember, then, and never spurn
  The one whose hand is hard and brown;
For he is likely to go up,
  And you are likely to come down.

Another thing you will agree,
  (The truth may be as well confessed,)
That "Codfish Aristocracy"
  Is but a *scaly* thing at best.
And though the fishes, large and strong,
  May seek the little ones to drown,
Yet fishes all, both great and small,
  Are going up, and coming down.

Our lives are full of chance and change,
  And *chance*, you know, is never sure;
And 'twere a doctrine new and strange,
  That places high are most secure.
And though the fickle god may smile,
  And yield the sceptre and the crown;
'Tis only for a little while,
  Then B goes up, and A comes down.

This world for you and me, my friend,
  Hath something more than pounds and pence;
Then let me humbly recommend
  A little use of common sense.
Thus lay all pride of place aside,
  And have a care on whom you frown;
For fear you'll see him going up,
  When you are only coming down.

For the National Era.

THE BROTHERS.

BY E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAPTER VII.

Cain.

> "I pr'ythee take thy fingers from my throat;
> For though I am not splenetive and rash,
> Yet have I in me something dangerous,
> Which let thy wisdom fear. Hold off the hand!"
> *Shakspeare.*

One morning, near the last of August—yet stay! Such mornings dawn unheralded by any sign to warn us what the fated day shall bring forth ere its close. Such mornings dawn as other mornings do—the doomed men or women rise as other people do, as you or I arose this morning, upon the dread day that unpremeditated crime or sudden death shall fix their mortal doom forever.

That morning Mr. Waring arose, feeling rather unwell and irritable, which was no unusual circumstance of late, for he was chafing between two conflicting interests, one of which called him away, while the other bound him at home. He was very anxious, with his wife, to leave the neighborhood of the infected city; but, in the present condition of affairs, he hesitated to trust the plantation and negroes to the care of the overseer.

Valentine arose with the same heavy heart that had marked his waking hours for many days, yet dressed himself and combed his raven black curls with the habitual regard to neatness and beauty that had become a second nature. And it was curious to see how this habit of neatness and elegance lasted through all the darkest hours of his life.

Poor Phædra got up, and attended to the arrangement of the house and the preparation of breakfast, with her usual exactness.

Mrs. Waring, suffering from the debilitating effects of the weather, indulged herself in the morning, and breakfasted in bed.

No foreboding was felt by any one; no token in sky or air, or circumstance without, or presentiment within their hearts, warned them of calamity, crime, and sudden death, at hand. That morning, after breakfast, Valentine strolled listlessly out towards the public road leading to the town. It was his daily habit. It had been commenced in the hope of meeting some one from the city who might be able to give him news of Fannie and her little child. And though he never met with success, he still rambled thither every day, as well from force of habit as from the faint hope that he might yet hear of them. He strolled to the highway, met his usual ill success, and, after lingering an hour or two, sauntered dejectedly towards home. When he reached a lane that separated his master's plantation on the right hand from Mr. Hewitt's on the left, his attention was arrested by the sound of a low voice. He listened.

"Hish-sh! Walley, come here, here to the gap."

The voice proceeded from behind the hedge, formed by a thick growth of Spanish daggers, that completely covered the fence on the left of the lane. There was a small broken place in it, towards which Valentine sauntered indifferently. He saw on the other side the huge head of a gigantic negro, a jet-black, lumbering, awkward, good-natured monster enough, who belonged to Mr. Hewitt, and who sported the imposing cognomen of "Governor."

"Well, Governor, is that you? What do you want with me?"

"Hish-sh, Walley, don't talk so loud! our oberseer aint fur off. Brudder 'Lisha, he bin out from town."

"Well?" exclaimed Valentine, with breathless interest, bending forward.

"W'en you hear from Fannie las'?"

"Not for two weeks. Why do you ask? Have *you* heard from her? Speak! oh, for Heaven's sake, speak!" exclaimed Valentine, breathlessly.

"Fannie done got de feber."

"Oh God!"

"Brudder 'Lisha, he done bin 'ere dis mornin', an' tell we-dem."

"Oh, Heaven! oh, when was she taken? Who is with her? Is she"——

"Dunno nuffin' 'tall 'bout it, 'cept 'tis she's got de feber. Brudder 'Lisha, he done bin dere to her place, an' heern it."

"Where is Elisha?"

"Done gone right traight back to town."

"And that is all the satisfaction you can give me," cried Valentine, beside himself with distress.

"Yaw, yaw! I trought how I'd watch arter you, and tell you—'long as you'd like to hear it. Hish-sh-sh! Walley, stoop down here close, till I whisper to you."

"What now?" exclaimed Valentine, in new alarm, bending his ear to the huge negro's lips.

"Hish-sh-sh! Walley, *I wish how it wur my 'oman as had de yaller feber!*"

"Wretch!"

"An' wish we-dem's white nigger oberseer had it too!"

"What do you mean?"

"An' I wish dey bofe might *die* long of it."

"Wretch! I say again!"

"Trufe, brudder! dat's me jes'! I'se de wretch! an' I wish how dis same wretch might hab de feber long o' de oder two, and how I might die long of 'em, and how we might all go up to Marster's trone, and have de case 'cided whose wife dis 'oman is for to be."

"Governor! what! do you mean to say that the new overseer is tampering with your wife's fidelity to you?"

"Hish-sh! he aint fur off. Dunno what de debbil you mean wid your big words. But she lub *fine dress*, an' *he* gib it to her; she berry *putty*, mos' *white*, you know, an' *he* sen' me way off to de furres' fiel' to work."

"Why don't you talk to her?"

"'Taint no use, she 'ny eberyting."

"Why don't you speak to your master?"

"'Taint no use; he won't nebber hear no 'plaints gin de oberseer."

"I am very sorry for you, poor fellow! and I would like to give you comfort and counsel, but I must hurry away from you, and try to get leave to go to town, and see poor dear Fannie. If I were you, Governor, I *would* speak to Major Hewitt upon this subject. He never would permit such a wrong done you."

"'Taint no use, I tell yer! But nebber min', Walley, listen yer! some ob dese yer days *I fixes him!*"

Valentine started at the demoniac look that, in a man usually so mild, accompanied these vague words; and, bidding the negro a hasty good morning, he ran along the lane until he reached the house.

His own heart and brain were wild with grief and alarm, as he hastened to the presence of his master, whom he did not doubt would now, in this extremity, permit him to go to the city.

Mr. Waring, in an irritable frame of mind, was walking up and down the front piazza, as Valentine stepped upon the floor.

"Well, what now?" he exclaimed, testily, at the sight of the young man's agitated countenance.

"My wife, sir! she has got the fever."

"Sorry to hear it, but—how did *you* hear it, sir? I hope no one from that place has had the temerity to set foot upon these premises, in face of the prohibition?"

"No, sir; I happened to meet with Governor, Mr. Hewitt's man, and he had seen an acquaintance of ours from the city, who came from Fannie's house this morning, and brought the news."

"I wonder Mr. Hewitt does not take better care of his own interests than to permit stragglers from the city to infest his place. He will bring the pestilence among us before we know where we are," said Mr. Waring, angrily.

"But, Fannie, sir, my poor wife"——

"Well, what of her? I am sorry, of course, really sorry, Valentine. It is a pity you ever got married; if you had not, neither you nor Fannie would have had so much trouble. It was a very foolish piece of business!"

"Perhaps it was, sir; but people who love each other have a sort of propensity to get married. It can't be helped, I suppose; it's a way they've got."

"And a bad way—very bad way—that I ought never to have sanctioned."

"Nor *imitated*, sir!"

"You are an impertinent fellow! But I overlook that. There is some difference, I should judge, between you and me, and I certainly ought never to have consented to your taking that girl."

"It is too late to say that now, sir!" said Valentine, with a sigh so heavy that Mr. Waring inquired, quickly—

"So you repent it, do you?"

"No, God Almighty knows I do not!" replied Valentine, with sorrowful earnestness, adding, "But, oh, sir I am losing precious time. I came here to ask you for a permit to go to town and see my wife."

"A permit! A permit to go to town, and to visit a woman ill with the very pestilence we are all doing our best to guard against? A permit to go there, and take the fever just as sure as you go, and bring back and spread the contagion among hundreds, whom we are all doing our best to guard from the pestilence! Impossible, Valentine! I wonder you could be so unreasonable as to ask it!"

"Unreasonable that I should want to go and see my suffering wife?"

"Yes—under circumstances. Yes, I am sorry for her, Valentine, and sorry for *you*, though I cannot say that your manner is very respectful. Still, I *am* very sorry for you; and if it were possible for me to do anything for your relief, I would do it—as it is, I regret that I can do nothing."

"Oh, sir! Master Oswald you could let me go to town," pleaded Valentine.

"At the imminent hazard of your own life, and the all but certainty of bringing the pestilence upon this plantation."

"All do not get the fever who are exposed to its influence; neither do they always spread contagion into the healthy places they chance to visit," reasoned the young man.

"The risk is too great," replied the master, curtly.

"Would you think it too great if your *own* wife were the one concerned, sir?" argued Valentine.

"Be more respectful, sirrah! There is some difference, I should say!" retorted the master, angrily.

"Yes, there is a difference!" cried Valentine; "and when I see anything to respect"——suddenly he stopped, swift as lightning came the thought, that if he refrained from provoking his master now, and came to him an hour hence, when he should be in a better humor, the prayer that he now denied, he might then grant. Controlling his rising indignation, he bowed, turned abruptly, and went off.

"Impudent rascal! he was just about to say something that I should have had to knock him down for; and then he thought better of it, and stopped—it's well he did! Poor fellow, I am sorry for him, too; but it is all his own fault! If he were not so presumptuous, he would not feel so badly. That is the very deuce of it; for that prevents him from seeing that there is a difference." Such were the reflections of Mr. Waring, as he continued to pace up and down the front piazza.

Valentine had mastered his anger, but he could not control the terrible anxiety that preyed upon his heart; Fannie suffering, Fannie dying deserted, alone; little Coralie perishing from neglect—these were the torturing visions that maddened his brain.

He went and told Phædra, who wept bitterly at the sad story; but yet sought to comfort her son, and inspire hope, by promising to go herself and tell Mrs. Waring, and get her to intercede with her husband for Valentine.

This was done, but with little success; for, though Mrs. Waring was moved to compassion, and went to her husband, and besought him to take compassion upon Valentine, and send him to see his sick wife, and trust in Providence to avert all evil consequences, Mr. Waring was not only firm in his refusal, but also exhibited no small degree of impatience at her interference. Unwilling to inflict a hopeless disappointment upon the poor fellow, Mrs. Waring tempered the report of her ill success, by saying that, though Mr. Waring had now refused her petition, she still hoped that he would think better of it, and grant the permit.

Yet all this time Fannie might be dying, and her child perishing for want—every moment was precious beyond price! Phædra sought her master's presence, and pleaded with him—pleaded by her long years of faithful service: by her devoted care of him in his feeble infancy; by the days of his childhood, when he and Valentine were playmates; by all the long years, as boys and as men, those two had passed together, inseparable companions, until the marriage of each; by her own devoted attachment to them; by his love for his own wife; by every sweet affection and holy thought, to have compassion on her son, his own foster-brother, and let him go and minister to his sick—probably his dying wife. Phædra pleaded with more eloquence, but not with more success, than the others had found. Some substances melt under the action of water—others, in the same element, turn to stone. Instead of melting, Mr. Waring's obduracy seemed to ossify under the effects of tears and entreaties. He told Phædra, firmly, that he did not mean to gratify one man, at the hazard of exposing many to contagion. And at the dinner table, speaking partly in justification of his own line of conduct, and partly in apology for the manner in which he had met Mrs. Waring's intercession of the morning, he said—

"You emphasize this matter too much, Madame; this Fannie is, after all, but one sufferer among thousands; you also mistake in endowing these creatures with the same acuteness of feelings that we possess; there is a difference, Madame! there is a difference! I wish I could make people, especially the negroes and their friends, understand that there is a difference; for neither Valentine nor Phædra seem to have the slightest conception of this difference."

"I must confess that in that respect I share their obtusity," remarked "Madame," while Mr. Waring, in apparent self-satisfaction, went on with his dinner.

But was he really satisfied with himself? Who shall answer?

Meantime, Valentine wandered about, consumed with sorrow and anxiety. Doubtless, he would have run away, and endeavored to reach the town; but he knew how carefully the avenues thither were guarded, and how desperate was the attempt that he had already thrice before made to elude the police. It would involve a loss of several hours to make the attempt, which, if it should fail, as it was altogether likely to do, would entirely preclude him from all possible chance of seeing Fannie; therefore he thought best to make another appeal to his master, before taking the last desperate step. He knew by experience that the hour after dinner always found Oswald Waring in his best humor.

It was then that he sought him.

He found him—not, as before, walking in the front piazza, where the afternoon sun was now shining, but reclining on a settee on the back piazza, that was now in the shade. He lay languidly fanning himself with one hand, while he held a pamphlet that he was reading in the other. Valentine had resolved not to provoke him by any hasty words, as he had used in the morning. He resolved to govern his own spirit, to approach his master respectfully, humbly. He did so.

"Master Oswald!"

Mr. Waring looked up, seemed annoyed, and hastened to exclaim—

"Now, Valentine, if you have come again about going to see your sick wife, and all that humbug, I tell you it is no manner of use! I have been wearied nearly to death already with fruitless importunity, and I want to hear no more of it."

"Oh, sir!"——

"I tell you it is of no use to talk to me!"

"Ah, but Master Oswald, only listen, even if you do no more!" pleaded Valentine, in the fond hope of an ardent nature, that, judging from the earnestness of his feelings, believes that if he gains a *hearing*, he gains his *cause.*

"Well, well! but I warn you it will be wasted breath."

"Ah, sir, do not say so! I am nearly crazy with trouble, sir, when I think of Fannie and poor little Coralie. She was very poor, sir, and the child was very sick, even before the pestilence appeared. Now she has the fever in that horrible place, with no one to help her or to take care of the poor child. She may be dying, sir, even while I speak! she may be dying, as many of the poor in that doomed city die, deserted—alone—but for the famishing infant, whose cries add to her own sufferings; she may have, as many of the poor have, famine and burning thirst added to her fever, with no one near to place to her lips a morsel of food or a drop of water! Think of it, sir! My God! do you wonder that I am almost frantic?" cried the young man, earnestly, beseechingly clasping his hands.

"An imaginary picture altogether, Valentine," coolly remarked Mr. Waring.

"A common reality among the poor of the city, this dreadful season, sir. You know it. You have heard it and read it. And she is *very* poor, sir. She and the child often suffered, even before the pestilence came and stopped *her* work with all the rest. Judge what her condition must be now. Oh, my God!" cried the young man, in a voice of agony.

"Your fears exaggerate the case, Valentine. There are alms-houses and hospitals, and sisters of charity, and relief funds, and all those sort of contrivances for the very poor."

"Yet you know, for I heard you read it, that all these places are full, that the relief fund failed to meet all the demands made upon it; and you know, besides, that all the poor white people have to be taken care of, before the colored people are thought of."

"Of course, there is a difference, you know. I wish, once for all, you would understand that fact," said Mr. Waring, replying only to the latter proposition. Then he added, "your fears magnify the danger; the yellow fever cannot last forever, and she may get well."

"Not one in ten do—I heard you say it."

"Well, she may be that one."

"What, sir, with all the privations of her lot?"

"Yes, why not? You are out of sorts, Valentine. Go into the house and take a drink; it will set you up—in the dining room—sideboard—left-hand corner—some fine old Otard brandy—help yourself; it will make a man of you."

"Thank you, Master Oswald; but that is not what I came for."

"What the devil *did* you come for, then, you troublesome fellow; tell me, and let me go to sleep;" exclaimed the master, impatiently turning on his settee.

Ah! Oswald Waring, goading a sorely-tried human soul to the brink of madness, where and what will be your next sleep!

"I came to beg and to pray you, Master Oswald, for a permit to go to town."

"And you cannot have it, Valentine; so you may save your prayers. Once for all, if you and your mother, and Madame, your mistress, to back you, were to pray from now till doomsday, you—*cannot—have—it.* Do you understand?" said the master, stolidly.

Valentine governed his own rising anger; it was as much as he could possibly do; he could not suppress his grief, but broke forth in a voice of agony—

"Oh! Fannie, Fannie, Fannie, and her little child!"

"D——n it, sir, stop your howling, or go somewhere else to howl. What the devil is Fannie or her brat to me? If they are suffering, it is her own fault; she had no business to marry a slave, whom she could never expect to help her. And if their sufferings afflict you, it serves you right; it is a just punishment for your cursed folly in marrying a free woman, with no master to look after her or her children."

"And afterwards sell them from her bosom! No, thank God All-merciful, Fannie and her child have no master," burst from the overcharged heart of the slave husband and father.

"By h——l, sir, what do you mean by that," exclaimed Oswald Waring, bursting into fury.

"What I've said, and more! more than I've said! what, in the last day of doom, you and such as you will hear thundered from the judgment seat of Christ."

"Be silent, you scoundrel! How dare you, sir," exclaimed Waring, breaking into a volley of blasphemous oaths.

"I will be silent! I will be silent! but not for your threats," exclaimed Valentine, as he turned from his master.

A storm was raging in his bosom; all the fierce passions of his nature were aroused; rage, grief, terror, and despair, made a hell of his bosom. In passing through the hall, he suddenly dived into the dining-room, poured out and drained a half tumbler of the strong brandy; then he hurried through and out of the front door, to make ready for his flight.

[CHAP. VII TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

DIVERSITY OF CLIMATE.—A gentleman left Crescent City, California, on the 20th January, and reached San Francisco 1st February. He travelled with snow shoes, and could go but six miles a day, for four days, the snow being from fifteen to thirty feet deep. At the same time, in San Francisco and Contra Costa counties, strawberries were ripening in the open air, and the tables of the epicures were supplied with an abundance of fresh-grown vegetables.

A wise country editor thinks that Richelieu, who declared that the *pen* was mightier than the sword, ought to have spoken a good word for the *scissors.*

An Irishman, giving his testimony in court, a few days since, in a riot case, said, "the first man I saw coming at me, when I got up, was two brickbats."

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

POLITICAL LETTER.

EUROPE, *January* 19, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

SIR: Every attentive observer must be struck with astonishment at the remarkable change which the popular feeling in Europe has undergone, within less than two years, with regard to the United States. That great country, which, no longer ago, was generally looked upon as the home of liberal ideas, and as very likely, if not by actual aid, at least by example and moral sympathy, to promote the cause of European freedom, is now contemptuously spoken of as wedded to despotism and intolerance, and as hostile to human liberty at large, while being not only bent upon making Slavery perpetual, as well as extending it within their own territory, but also as desirous of seeing frustrated the attempt of France and England at annihilating the terrible influence which Russia has for more than forty years exercised upon the destinies of Europe.

This change of public opinion on this continent has been brought about by the infamous schemes of Mr. Atchison and his worthy coadjutors, by the odious principles advocated by the Know Nothings, and by the blamable course which the great majority of the American journals, of almost all shades, have pursued with regard to the struggle between Russia and the Western Powers of Europe.

But, though much disappointment, regret, and even scorn, are manifested by the many millions of Europeans who had accustomed themselves to look upon the American people as the vanguard of Freedom, still many of them flatter themselves with the hope that the genuine Republicans, who are not wedded to narrow-minded, national prejudices, nor to religious intolerance, nor to worn-out protective principles in trade, nor to Russian ascendency, will, at the next Presidential election, acquire a complete victory, and thus be enabled to regenerate and restore the American Republic to its original purity.

But it is evident, if these hopes are to be realized, the genuine Republican party must, without the least delay, take the most energetic measures in order to bring about such a complete organization as might give it the strength which is necessary to secure to it the victory over its well-trained adversaries, battling with all the advantages of veteran warriors, led by the most consummate tacticians. I feel also assured that it is of vital importance that the Republicans guard themselves against coalition with any party adverse to the present naturalization laws and to religious tolerance, and that they do not permit themselves to be entrapped in adopting in their platform any of the old Whig heresies.

Permit me here to observe, that the Kingdom of Sardinia affords us a new and signal example of the beneficent influence of the principles of free trade, and that the people of Sweden and Norway evince generally great desire at seeing these principles fully established among themselves.

It is not many years since that the names of Cass, Douglas, Soulé, Foot, and other eminent Democrats, were heralded throughout Europe as allied with the great cause of human freedom; and that the Democratic party was esteemed as the genuine Republican party in the United States. Hence the triumphant election of General Pierce was hailed in Europe, by the popular party, as a most joyous event. But when Messrs. Douglas and Cass, and the Democratic Administration, aided in abrogating the "Missouri Compromise," and in extending the area of Slavery, then hundreds of thousands of liberal-minded Europeans began to doubt the sincerity of the Democratic party at large, and to nourish the suspicion that it was sailing under false colors. But this suspicion was changed, in full conviction, when it was seen that the Democratic Cabinet, and a great many of the Democratic journals in the United States, took side against France and England, in their laudable attempt at putting a stop to the many wrongs which Russia, for more than one hundred and thirty years, had inflicted upon Europe, and at humbling the mighty chieftain of the Holy Alliance, who, in violation of the national law and the usages of civilized societies, had, without declaration of war, invaded the Danubian Principalities, and destroyed the Turkish squadron at Sinope. From this time, I dare assert that the Democratic party became odious to the great majority of the popular party in Europe.

Still the Know Nothings are yet more disliked among the friends of Freedom in Europe, and I feel warranted in saying that the disgust and hatred which that party has excited among Europeans has been one cause in diminishing, of late, the European emigration—an event which might cause joy to the "Know Nothings," but which the great majority of intelligent Americans will certainly deeply regret.

The European *Liberals* entertaining the above-mentioned feelings against the so-called "Democratic" party in the United States—which has, indeed, lost the right to bear that glorious name, in consequence of its servility to domestic and foreign despotism—and against the Know Nothings, it is very natural that they generally wish that their emigrated brethren in the United States shall, at the next Presidential election, unanimously unite in supporting the candidate of the genuine Republican Democrats. Yes, many of the liberal continental journals have already expressed the hope that the adopted citizens, by their unanimous vote, will decide the next Presidential election in favor of the Republican party.

But though it might prove impossible to induce the adopted citizens unanimously to support the Republican candidate, I feel confident that the great body of them will vote the Republican ticket, if the Republican Convention nominates as Presidential candidate a man of frankness, firmness, honesty, and of eminent abilities, and above all suspicion of entanglement with the Know Nothings.

I remain yours, &c., PUBLICOLA.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF CHINA.

CANTON, CHINA, *Dec.* 12, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

"The poor ye have always with you," is a truth applicable to all parts of the world, but especially to those countries that have a numerous population. To one who passes through the densely-crowded streets and thoroughfares of China, the question naturally presents itself, how do the poor live here? And while one is surprised at the large number of well-dressed people he meets, he is still at a loss to know how the vast multitudes of the lower orders obtain a subsistence. The most miserable class of the poor are the beggars. These are mostly blind, diseased, or deformed persons, who have no relatives, or whose friends are unable or unwilling to support them. They pass through the streets generally in companies of from three to six, in single file, the leader, if blind, feeling the way with a stick, while the others follow behind, each one holding to the one before him. They thus go from shop to shop, armed with gongs and short pieces of bamboo, with which they make a deafening noise, at the same time chanting a mournful tale of their sufferings, or heaping upon the shopmen praises of their wealth and generosity. This is continued until the gift of a cash or two for each person obtains silence, and they proceed on their wearisome way. A rule prevails, by which no two companies enter the same shop at one time; and the merchant, if not pressed with business, will often endure for a long time, with stoic indifference, the noise and confusion, as well as the entreaties and wretchedness of the miserable creatures, for they are a guard against other applications. Why should he be moved? The sights and sounds have been familiar to him from his boyhood, and his object is to pass the day with the least possible expense. Many of these poor creatures pass the night in the streets, with the stony pavement for their bed, and a thin mat for their covering. Bad food, insufficient clothing, exposure at night, and to cold and damp, soon bring on disease, and reduce them to the last degree of exhaustion and suffering; their legs become covered with foul ulcers, their faces haggard and eyes sunken; filth and rags complete the picture of the most abject wretchedness to which the human frame can be brought. Unable longer to go about after food to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they lie on the sides of the streets, where, uncared for alike by their companions in misery and the strong man who passes by on the other side, a lingering death terminates their sufferings.

There is an open square in front of a large temple, about five minutes walk from the foreign factories, where large numbers of beggars congregate to spend the night. Here, at daylight in the morning, they may be seen in all stages, and it is a heart-rending spectacle to look upon them as they rise from their stony beds, adjust their tattered garments, and go forth with tottering steps, in different directions, to seek a precarious subsistence for the day. After most of them are gone, there remain those who are unable to walk, or who, during the night, have paid the debt of nature.

This is the spot for the rich man to learn how to enjoy his wealth, and for the man who has food and clothing, and a shelter from the storm, to learn therewith to be content, and to give thanks to Him from whom all his blessings flow.

It is impossible to estimate the number who live by begging, but in the city of Canton they must amount to thousands. Fifty may often be met in a walk of fifteen minutes. It is said that the eyes of children are often put out, and they are then taught to beg. This is doubtless comparatively rare.

Multitudes of poor are supported by their relatives. The family relation and obligations are such, that when a man is in want, he has claims on his nearest kindred, and custom requires that aid shall be rendered. When men are out of employment, they live with such of their relatives as are more fortunate; and thus it happens that a man who is successful in business will have with him an indefinite number of dependent relatives, who work for their food, if there is any for them to do.

Beggars are under the direction of a head-man, who distributes them to the different neighborhoods, protects the citizens from unlawful exactions, and receives contributions from those who prefer giving a stated sum monthly, to the daily importunities of the miserable creatures, or from those who, by reason of a funeral or marriage, wish to have their houses free from unpleasant interruptions.

Within two centuries, charitable institutions have been founded at various places, owing, doubtless, to the influence of Catholic missionaries; but they are altogether inadequate to render aid to the multitudes who need it, and are so badly managed that but little good is realized from them. In the Eastern suburbs of Canton, there is an asylum for aged and infirm, one for blind, and one for orphan children. A few hundred persons are supported at these places from the public treasury.

With reference to that large class of the population who depend for subsistence on their daily work, it is impossible to enumerate the various modes in which they are employed. Aside from those skilled in the various mechanic arts, there are the day laborers, whose work is uncertain, and wages low. It must be remembered not only that no labor-saving machinery is used in China, but also beasts of burden and carriages for transportation are unknown, and everything which cannot be conveyed to its destination by water must be carried on men's shoulders. In the present state of things, therefore, immense multitudes of men find profitable employment, who would be deprived of a means of subsistence, if the improvements of Western civilization were suddenly introduced.

The wages received by able-bodied men are from three to four dollars per month, and out of this they must pay for their food. This may seem like extremely poor pay, but, on taking into consideration the price of living and the great competition, it seems more reasonable. Generally, the cost of rice, which is the main article of food, does not exceed two cents per pound for good quality, and the ordinary price paid for board is one dollar and fifty cents per month. The expense for clothing in a warm climate is very little; and when it is necessary to make a display, the finery is hired for the occasion.

While, therefore, this great Empire teems with millions of human beings, a bountiful Providence causes the earth and the waters to yield abundant supplies of food, so that ordinary industry is rewarded with all the necessaries of life; and if men starve to death in the streets, as they do almost every day, it is not because of deficiency in the general stock, but because of its unequal distribution, and the hardness of heart in those who have plenty. K.

For the National Era.

NEGRO ABSORPTION.

The Nashua (N. H.) *Telegraph*, not long since, published the following:

"*Horror on Horrors.*—What a deal of pious ejaculation the editor of the *Patriot* utters over the remark of Mr. Banks, that the 'stronger race will absorb the weaker!' Why, man alive, the chivalric South have been engaged for a century in proving the truth of the remark. It is the commonest thing in the world to see human property advertised as half white, and often as 'nearly white.' 'The best blood of the South' is coursing its pure way under a very slightly colored skin."

Whereupon, the New Hampshire *Patriot*, in its earnest anxiety to relieve its Southern brethren of the stigma thus cast upon them, rejoined in this wise:

"This kind of talk has become very common among the Abolition and Black Republican demagogues. Without stopping to correct the *Telegraph's* deliberate misrepresentation of the sentiment of Mr. Banks upon which we commented, we propose to state a fact or two which should cause Northern men to hold their peace upon the subject referred to in the latter part of the above paragraph. It is almost daily thrown out as a disgrace to the Southern people, that there are a large number of slaves with more or less white blood in their veins. This is true, and it *is* a disgrace. But if this amalgamation, this practical carrying into effect Mr. Bank's 'absorption' theory, is disgraceful to the Southern people, is not the same fact existing in the North quite as disgraceful to the people of the North? No one can deny it; and no one will deny that the disgrace is about in proportion to the comparative extent to which Mr. Bank's 'absorption' process has been carried on in the two sections. Now, the census of 1850 shows that, while more than *one-fourth* of the colored people of the North are mulattoes, only *one-thirteenth* of the slave population are mulattoes! Among the 3,204,313 slaves, 246,656 were mulattoes, or had more or less white blood; while, of the 195,000 colored people of the free States, over 56,500 are mulattoes! In Ohio, *more than half* of the colored population are mulattoes, or over 14,000 out of 25,000. In Indiana, about 90 per cent. are mulattoes; in Wisconsin and Iowa, over 87 per cent.; in Illinois, over 85 per cent.; in Michigan, 76 per cent.; in New Hampshire, 54 per cent.; in Maine, 51 per cent.; in Pennsylvania and Vermont, 40 per cent.; in Massachusetts, 34 per cent.; in Connecticut, 30 per cent.; in Rhode Island, 24 per cent.; in New York, 19 per cent.; and in New Jersey, 18 per cent.; while in only one slave State do the mulattoes form 16 per cent. of the whole number of slaves, and in only three do they amount to 10 per cent.

"Now, it seems to us that, if it is a disgrace to the South that they have carried out Mr. Bank's 'absorption' theory to such an extent that one-thirteenth of their slaves have white blood in their veins, it is a still greater disgrace to the Northern people that they have applied the same theory so far that more than one-quarter of the negroes among them are part white! And we say, further, that those among whom this infamous amalgamation theory is so extensively applied, and who justify it, as do the Black Republicans in their defence and support of Mr. Banks, only add to their shame by constantly talking about the sins of the Southern people in this particular."

The fallacy of this mode of reasoning will be apparent on a moment's consideration, when we reflect that the disgrace of amalgamation attaches, not to the black, but to the white race, especially at the South, where it may safely be assumed that in the great majority of cases it is involuntary on the part of the blacks. Then, instead of inquiring the proportion which the mulattoes bear to the total colored population, we should inquire the proportion they bear to the *white* population of the State. Let us examine the census returns of 1850, and see what will be the result of this investigation. In Indiana, where the *Patriot* says that ninety per cent. of the colored population are mulattoes, we find that there are 977,154 white persons, and 5,321 mulattoes, or one mulatto to about 183 whites. In Wisconsin, the next State named by the *Patriot* as a proof that the North is given to practical amalgamation, we find that there are 304,756 white persons, and only 297 mulattoes, or less than one mulatto to every thousand white persons! Now, let us contrast this state of things with one or two of the Southern States, and see whether the balance will be found on the side of the "chivalry." In Virginia, there are 894,800 whites, and 79,775 mulattoes, or more than one mulatto to every *eleven* white persons! In South Carolina the state of things is not much better, there being 274,563 whites, and 16,874 mulattoes, or about one mulatto to every sixteen white persons. Now, leaving out of the question the fact that probably nine-tenths of those who escape to the North, from the Southern States, have more or less white blood in their veins, is it not perfectly apparent to every unprejudiced mind that the disgrace of amalgamation is greater where there is one mulatto to every dozen or twenty whites, as at the South, than it is where there is only one mulatto to every hundred or thousand white persons, as at the North? JUSTICE.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

Wednesday, March 12, 1856.

SENATE.

Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred the bill to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, reported back the same with sundry amendments.

[These amendments are somewhat numerous, and include an amount of nearly three millions. Among the items are one of one million eight hundred thousand dollars for the War Department, principally on account of the Quartermaster's department, barracks, and other incidental expenses; and an item of $300,000 for the water-works of this city.]

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, to which was referred so much of the President's annual message as relates to Territorial affairs, and that of the 24th of January in relation to Kansas, and the message of the 18th of February, in answer to a resolution calling for information in relation to the same, submitted a very elaborate report, consisting of upwards of one hundred pages.

Mr. Collamer, as a member of the committee, did not assent to the doctrines laid down in that report, and desired to submit the views of the minority. Mr. C. then presented a document scarcely less voluminous than that of Mr. Douglas.

These reports were read by the Senators making them, and occupied the time of the Senate for three hours.

A motion was made to print the reports, when an exceedingly animated discussion ensued, in which Messrs. Sumner, Douglas, Brown, Seward, Wade, Pugh, and others, participated.

Mr. Sumner sustained the report of the minority, emphatically denying the charges contained in the report of the majority.

Mr. Douglas would be prepared to prove all the facts sustained in the report, and justify the conclusions drawn from them. The Senator from Massachusetts could not deny them. He would, however, take occasion, at an early day, to give his views at length.

Mr. Brown could not go into a discussion of this subject intelligently, and he therefore wished it postponed until after the reports had been printed, when he should desire to be heard on the matter. He had a speech already only half delivered on another subject, and he should ask the Senate to hear the remainder to-morrow, or allow him to have it sent to the reporter to publish. He did not care much which course was taken.

Mr. Seward expressed himself as greatly gratified with the principles laid down in the minority report, and the signal ability with which it was drawn. He declared himself willing and ready to stand by and defend to the last all the facts, as well as the conclusions drawn from them.

The motion to print was then agreed to.

Mr. Pugh moved to print 6,200 copies; which was referred to the Committee on Printing.

And the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The Speaker announced the following gentlemen as the select committee on the bill introduced by Mr. Dunn yesterday, "enabling the States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, to improve the navigation of the river Ohio, and granting lands to said States in aid thereof, and for other purposes:" Messrs. Dunn of Indiana, Stanton of Ohio, Allen of Illinois, Ritchie of Pennsylvania, Cox of Kentucky, Taylor of Louisiana, and Carlile of Virginia.

Mr. Whitney, of New York, introduced a bill to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and to repeal all acts heretofore passed and now in force on that subject.

Mr. Meacham, of Vermont, introduced a bill to incorporate the Mutual Gas Light Company of Washington and Georgetown.

The House then resumed the consideration of the resolution empowering the Committee of Elections, in the contested election case from the Territory of Kansas, to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation.

Mr. Trafton, of Massachusetts, briefly urged the necessity of adopting the resolution, in order that the allegations made in the majority and minority reports might be tested. He then proceeded to defend the Emigrant Aid Societies formed for the purpose of settling Kansas, declaring that their object was to people our free territory with free men and free women. These societies were not the offspring of the present time. Many of the old States were peopled through their instrumentality, and portions of this country were settled through the agency of such organizations formed in England.

Mr. Davis, of Maryland, then entered into an elaborate and able legal argument of the questions embraced in this election case. He contended that there was no question which could be decided by any evidence which could be taken in this case, and declared that he was not willing to take a single step that would in the most remote manner imply that the House had any authority to act upon the supposition that it could collaterally inquire into the validity of the laws of the Legislature of Kansas.

Mr. Wakeman, of New York, replied to a portion of the remarks of Mr. Davis, and argued to prove that the House had the right to inquire whether its members had been properly elected, and came from a proper Government. In his opinion, Congress had the power to determine which and what Government is the existing Government in any individual State or Territory of the Union. He charged the Administration as the perpetrator and instigator of the troubles in Kansas, and it was now trying, by every species of sharp practice and chicanery, to prevent the adoption of the resolution calling for persons and papers. This investigation was demanded, to expose the villany of an Administration the like of which had never before existed in this country.

Mr. Purviance, of Pennsylvania, then obtained the floor, but yielded to a motion that the House adjourn.

Before the question was put—

Mr. Meacham, of Vermont, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to define the rights of voters and the duties of commissioners of elections in the city of Washington, and for other purposes; which was read twice.

[This bill is substantially the same as that heretofore introduced by Mr. Meacham, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. It omits, however, the provision which makes the oath of a person whose right to vote is challenged *prima facie* evidence of the possession of that right; and also provides for those persons whose names may have been omitted from the poll list by the assessors.]

Mr. Meacham moved that the bill be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, did not think that the bill contained anything that required the reference proposed by the gentleman from Vermont. He suggested that it be postponed until Tuesday next.

Mr. Meacham modified his motion in accordance with the suggestion of the gentleman; and it was agreed to.

And then, at twenty minutes to four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Thursday, March 13, 1856.

SENATE.

Mr. Seward presented the resolutions of the Legislature of New York, in favor of a modification of the laws granting pensions and bounty land to Revolutionary soldiers.

Mr. Bigler's resolution to purchase copies of Dr. Kane's narrative of his Arctic expedition was discussed.

Mr. Hunter presented the joint resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, in favor of the passage of a law to provide an opportunity for those officers who have been retired or dismissed in consequence of the recommendation of the late Naval Retiring Board to vindicate their tarnished honor.

The resolution in regard to the purchase of Dr. Kane's work was postponed without taking a vote.

The three million bill was then taken up, and Mr. Brown resumed and concluded his remarks on the enlistment question, justifying the course of the Administration on this question, and on that with reference to the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Mr. Mallory agreed with the views expressed by the Senator from Mississippi. He did not believe there would be any war—there ought to be none. But if war should arise, there would be no limit to our resources. He referred to the action of Spain in 1848, when the English Minister was ordered to quit the capital within 48 hours, or sooner if possible. There could be no impropriety in pursuing a similar course now, under our present circumstances.

Mr. Fessenden here obtained the floor, and the subject was postponed until two o'clock to-morrow.

The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill to amend the act establishing the Court of Claims. The bill authorizes two of the Judges to hold Court as a quorum, and provides for the appointment of an assistant solicitor, and a clerk for the solicitor. After some debate, it was passed, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The House met at 12 o'clock. After prayer by the Rev. Daniel Waldo, Chaplain to the House, the Journal of yesterday was read.

The House resumed the consideration of the resolution empowering the Committee of Elections, in the contested election case from the Territory of Kansas, to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation.

Mr. Purviance, of Pennsylvania, replied to the arguments which had been made against the adoption of the resolution, contending that, according to the history of all jurisprudence, the House had the right to go behind the record to ascertain if the party who had received the certificate had obtained it by fraud.

Mr. Taylor, of Louisiana, argued that the case before them in no proper sense presented an election contest, as no individual who was a candidate or a legal voter at the election at which Mr. Whitfield was returned as a Delegate from Kansas had come forward to contest his right to a seat in the House.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, asserted the power of the House to inquire into and pass upon the legality of the Kansas Legislature, and the statute under which the sitting Delegate claimed to have been elected. In his opinion, a case had arisen such as would justify the inquiry proposed; for it showed that a stab had been struck at the vitals of the Government; that in Kansas the bowie-knife and revolver had been substituted for the ballot-box; and that ruffianism had been inaugurated in place of law and order.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, notified the House that on to-morrow he should endeavor to obtain a direct vote upon the resolution under consideration.

Mr. Harris, of Illinois, desired to know why the attention of the Committee of Elections had not been directed to the right asserted by Governor Reeder to the seat now held by Gen. Whitfield? That was the question they were called upon to decide; and yet, knowing that Governor Reeder was the basest pretender that had ever rapped at the door of the House, they had dodged that question, and presented another, with the view of creating excitement in the country. He was opposed to the resolution, because he had no earthly confidence in the committee which proposed to make this investigation. The committee were combined for the very purpose of affecting the popular mind of the country, of carrying the black flag of Abolitionism over the land, and of exciting the public mind on the question of Slavery.

Mr. Letcher, of Virginia, denied that Governor Reeder had any right whatever to the seat claimed by him; and, in conclusion, referred to the state of the parties which now divide the country. If the Republican party should ever have the power to undertake to carry out the principles they professed—to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, and thus deprive the South of the means of recovering her property; to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and prohibit it, by Congressional legislation, in the Territories of the United States, and in the forts, arsenals, and dockyards at the South—they would find that the South, if it had a particle of self-respect, and he trusted in God it had, would be prepared to resist any such action. He hoped, however, that things would never come to this issue. He believed that the days of the Republican party were numbered, and that he already saw the handwriting on the wall.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, then obtained the floor, when, at half-past three o'clock, the House adjourned.

Pacific Railroad.—The Speaker of the House of Representatives has appointed the following gentlemen to constitute the Select Committee to which was referred the bill to provide for railroad and telegraphic communication between the Atlantic States and the Pacific Ocean, and for other purposes, introduced [illegible] the House on Thursday last by Mr. Denver: Messrs. Denver of California, Woodworth of Illinois, Houston of Alabama, Mott of Ohio, Wells of Wisconsin, Kidwell of Virginia, Jewett of Kentucky, McCarty of New York, Evans of Texas, Reade of North Carolina, Wood of Maine, Lindley of Missouri, Kunkel of Pennsylvania.

The Missing Steamer.—Painful Apprehensions.—*New York, March* 12.—In the absence of any tidings of the missing steamer Pacific, of the Collins line, the report brought by the steamer Arabia, of certain fragments of cabin furniture, &c., having been seen among the ice by the steamer Edinburgh, has caused fearful apprehensions here in regard to the fate of that steamer. There is, it is true, nothing conclusive in the circumstances reported, but the probability is strong *that the fragments in question were a part of the wreck of the Pacific!*

The Kentucky Legislature, which adjourned *sine die* on Monday, previously passed a law making all the cities and towns of the State responsible to the owners of property destroyed by mobs.

TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. Whitney is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the *Era* at our lowest rates.

Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 22 Spruce street

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 1856.

☞ We are still able to supply subscribers with the *Era* from the commencement of the present volume.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

The National Republican Party is at last inaugurated. The official report of the proceedings of the Republican Convention at Pittsburgh, and sketches of the speeches made, published in another place, will be read with intense interest. As it has placed the Party in a position, in which it accepts the issue forced upon it by the Slavery and Administration Party, in which we can consistently and cordially sustain it, and which bids fair to command the support of the great body of the voters of the country opposed to the rule of the Slave Oligarchy, and as its nominations at the Convention in June will doubtless be made to conform strictly to, and enforce that position, we propose to issue the *National Era*,

FOR THE CAMPAIGN,

From the 4th of April, ensuing, to the 5th of December, inclusive, comprising thirty-six numbers of the *Era*, covering the whole period of the Presidential canvass, election, and returns,

For $1 a copy, to clubs of five, or more.

The Republican, is now, the first National Party in the field; its immediate duty is, to perfect its organization in every State, and marshal all its forces for the great struggle with the Oligarchy and its auxiliaries, next November. To maintain it as the first Party, and to insure its triumph, the Press that advocates its Principles and Policy must be put in requisition, and its issues scattered, thick as "the leaves in Vallambrosa." If our friends think the *National Era*, which has labored so incessantly to bring about the union of freemen in one organization, on one issue, for the overthrow of the Slave Power, can render service in the work before them, will they give a little time and effort, to enlarge the sphere of its influence, by raising subscribers for the campaign edition? As to its character, it will be, what it has always been, pending a struggle for ascendency at the ballot-box.

CONGRESS DURING THE WEEK.

Congress has not made much headway during the week. Thirty-one thousand copies of the majority and minority reports of the Senate Committee on Kansas Affairs have been ordered to be printed. On the question of printing, last Friday, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, made a speech of three hours' length on the Report, reviewing it in its length and breadth, and thoroughly examining all its positions. It was a great effort, and placed the new Senator at once in the front rank of debaters. An animated discussion of a somewhat personal character followed, in which Messrs. Trumbull, Douglas, Crittenden, and Sumner, participated, and of which a brief sketch is given under our Congressional head.

The discussion of the Central American question drags its slow length along: nobody, in Congress or out, seems to be particularly interested in it.

Appropriation bills continue to originate in the Senate, and the larger the appropriation, the more easily it makes its way, especially if it be for the army or navy. The House, if jealous of its own rights, will frame its own bills, and pass them, without reference to what the Senate has done.

Last Friday, Mr. Washburn, after a spirited speech in support of the resolution of the Committee to send for persons and papers in the Kansas affair, demanded the previous question, but the majority refused it, being desirous of continuing the discussion. Monday last, several speeches were made, among them one by Mr. Galloway, of Ohio, a new member, who spoke with great fluency and energy, eloquently exposing the atrocities of Kansas legislation. The House, on both sides, paid him the compliment of listening to him attentively.

"*Ion*," the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Sun*, remarks of this prolonged discussion on Kansas affairs—

"The debate has, on the whole, so far been orderly in its tone, and very creditable to the new House in point of ability."

FROM KANSAS.

Washington, March 17.—A gentleman just arrived from Kansas reports that Gov. Shannor, in returning from Washington, was occupied twelve days in reaching the border of the Territory from St. Louis, in consequence of the obstruction to navigation by the ice. He was three full days detained on the river bank. The State Legislature had assembled before the Governor reached the place of meeting, and our informant says he has no doubt, judging from the information he obtained there, that before now the officers of the new Government had been arrested by the Federal authorities.

If so, the Federal authorities will have to back out, as they were obliged to do in the Christiana case. It will be time enough for them to act, when any attempt shall be made to resist the laws of the United States.

Senator Butler of South Carolina has written a letter, in which, while expressing his preference that South Carolina should remain aloof from all National Conventions, he recommends that, as some of her People have resolved to be represented in the Cincinnati Convention, a full delegation of the most respectable citizens of the State be sent there.

State Government for Kansas.—Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported last Thursday a bill in the Senate to authorize the People of Kansas to form a State Government, when their number shall have reached the requisite ratio of representation. Its provisions are generally in accordance with precedent.

The Terrible Catastrophe.—A brief account of the burning of a ferry-boat crossing the Delaware from Philadelphia to Camden, is given in another place. The loss of life was fearful. Only forty-five of those who were on the boat are known to have been saved, making the number lost about sixty! The boat had no life or safety boats, no means to save passengers in such an emergency. What horrible recklessness of life!

The Republican Gazette is the name of a new Republican paper just started at Providence, Rhode Island, for the purpose of bringing about a union of the friends of Freedom in the coming Presidential election. It is imbued with the right spirit, and advocates sound measures with energy and ability. We wish it great success.

EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE ERA.

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., 27 New Broad street, London, England, has kindly consented to act as agent for the *National Era* in Great Britain and Europe.

There are eleven coal mining companies operating in and about Lasalle, Illinois.

A FEW PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

An Anti-Nebraska Caucus was held in the Capitol on the evening of the 11th. Eighty-five members of the Senate and House were present, and more would have attended had they been fully satisfied as to its object.

Among the Senators in attendance were Messrs. Seward, Wilson, Collamer, and Foot, the last-named gentleman presiding. Mr. Cumback of Indiana was chosen Secretary. The object of the meeting was to compare views, and bring about a better understanding among the Anti-Nebraska members of Congress, sustaining somewhat different party relations. A spirit of concord pervaded the meeting, and it was manifest that there was a more general agreement of opinion than had been looked for in some quarters.

Mr. Wilson spoke earnestly for a union of all in favor of Freedom, and pledged Massachusetts to support an Anti-Nebraska candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Banks followed in a similar strain.

Mr. Colfax, of Indiana, insisted that the great issue of the Presidential canvass must be, Freedom to the Territories, in opposition to Slavery-aggression.

Mr. Collamer, of Vermont, said that the great Question was, Freedom or Slavery, and on this the appeal must be made to the People.

Messrs. Cragin of New Hampshire, Benson of Maine, Howard of Michigan, Billinghurst of Wisconsin, Granger of New York, Meacham and Sabin of Vermont, all agreed that the controlling issue of the campaign was, Freedom to the Territories.

Mr. Durfee pledged Rhode Island for an Anti-Nebraska nominee. Mr. Woodruff, for Connecticut, expressed the views of the whole delegation from that State in favor of a Presidential canvass on the great issue of Freedom.

Mr. Todd, of Pennsylvania, while avowing himself an American, and preferring to remain uncommitted as to the Presidency, declared himself strongly an Anti-Nebraska, Kansas man.

Mr. Seward spoke at length, urging union on the one great issue, declaring that he cared nothing for names, and would support the candidate who should represent the principle of Freedom. He was frequently interrupted by applause, and the Caucus then adjourned, to meet on the evening of the 18th, to hear further expressions of opinion.

We did not need the evidence which this meeting has furnished of the fact, that all the Anti-Nebraska members of the Senate and the great majority of the members of the House who supported Mr. Banks, are determined to make the Question of Freedom to the Territories the controlling issue in the Presidential canvass. Not even the large portion of these, styled Americans, will have anything to do with the nomination of Mr. Fillmore; nor will they seek to make their peculiar views in relation to Naturalization, a test in the contest.

We may assume, then, that in the judgment of the great majority of the Anti-Nebraska members of both Houses of Congress and of the constituencies they represent, whether "Republican," "Republican-American," or "American," the one issue of the Presidential Canvass ought to be Freedom to the Territories—that on this issue alone can a union of the masses of the Anti-Nebraska voters of the country, Native-born and Naturalized, Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, and Americans, be effected—and that therefore other questions and organizations must, for the time at least, be held in abeyance: and they know that such a union on such an issue would be invincible.

So far, then, as the issue, the necessary condition to union, and the result to be accomplished by it, are concerned, there is perfect agreement among the different sections of Anti-Nebraska voters. Neither section can succeed without the votes of the others. We must have the votes of Free-Soilers and naturalized citizens; we must have the votes of Americans; but we cannot have them both, unless the latter agree to lay aside their peculiar issues, and forbear to press the claims of their organization. If they do this, Free-Soilers and naturalized citizens can vote with them on the great question of Freedom, for the rights of the latter will not then be in question. How, indeed, could we expect them to support any movement, intended or calculated in any way to derogate from their rights?

We, then, have got one step further: Whigs will not press their peculiar claims; nor Democrats, theirs; nor Free-Soilers, theirs, if they entertain any; nor "Americans," theirs. There will then be no call for an anti-Whig, anti-Democratic, anti-American test—nor will the naturalized citizens want any declaration against Know Nothingism, for the plain reason that the Anti-Nebraska or Republican union is not formed to disturb their rights, to touch any of the questions hitherto agitated, except that of Slavery, but expressly invites voters of all parties, sects, and races, to unite on equal terms, in one organization, on the one controlling issue of Freedom, in this canvass.

To such a union no true-hearted friend of Freedom, native-born or naturalized, of whatever party, except the party of Slavery, can object.

But, says an Anti-Slavery Know Nothing, willing himself to aid in such an organization, "there are difficulties you have not noticed. You have had a Convention at Pittsburgh, styled "Republican"—it has made provision for a National Nominating Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June—the whole movement is "Republican;" but, in New Hampshire, there is no Republican organization—in Massachusetts, there is a bitter feud between the Republicans and the Americans, although in the ranks of the latter are numerous Anti-Slavery men, who would be willing to sink all but the Anti-Slavery issue in the Presidential election, but not under the lead of Republicans. So, in other States, there are voters ready to unite with you on the one question, but not willing to go over to the Republicans."

Is not this difficulty more imaginary than real? *We* care nothing for *names*—indeed, ours was the last paper to adopt the term, "*Republican.*" Any other, even now, would suit us just as well, if it were short, easily written, and well understood. What, after all, does it mean? It is simply a term of convenience, used to designate all those voters who are determined to make the Question of Freedom to the Territories, in the coming Presidential election, paramount and exclusive. That is all. Why should it be offensive to any section of these voters? We must have some one word, to save the necessity of circumlocution, and that is as good as any. The prejudices which have sprung up against it in a few States, from animosities generated by local causes, ought not to operate against it as used to define the position which all Anti-Nebraska voters desire to occupy in the National contest.

Then, as to the Pittsburgh Convention. It was called by the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Now, although in New York and Massachusetts the "Republicans" and "Americans" occupy antagonistic positions, in Maine, Michigan, and Ohio, the "Americans," forbearing to press their own issues and organization, have generally acted with the Republicans as one Party, on the *one* issue.

The Convention at Pittsburgh was therefore called under the auspices of men, united by a single bond of action, without respect to party. It made no issue upon any other question than that of Slavery: it assailed no other evil than that of Slavery-aggression. Its platform and address show this, nothing more. The National Executive Committee appointed, consists of men who have been Whigs, Democrats, Free-Soilers, Americans, but now accept the name "Republican," as the most convenient designation of their position. The Convention agreed to a resolution recommending a National Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, on the great issue—the Convention to be composed of delegates from the several States, equal in number to three times the representation in Congress to which each State is entitled.

The proceedings of this meeting have been hailed with joy by a large portion of the Anti-Nebraska Press of the Country, and by the Anti-Nebraska Party in a majority of the free States. It is impossible to ignore them, or to supersede the movement initiated by them. Any serious effort to do so will only add to the embarrassments of the free States, and complicate the relations of Anti-Nebraska voters. A call by members of Congress for another Convention to nominate candidates on the same issue, would arouse distrust, dissension, and discord, and give offence to the great body of honest People who recognise in the proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention a legitimate beginning of the union, so much desired, of the friends of Freedom. Members, in their anxiety to conciliate in one quarter, will beware of of producing disgust in another quarter.

The crisis is by far too grave to be treated lightly, and a movement endorsed by seven State Committees, all the distinctive Anti-Nebraska Press, and the great body of the Anti-Nebraska voters of the country, cannot be superseded, ought to be recognised by Anti-Nebraska members of Congress.

But the question recurs, says a representative, "What shall we do in certain localities where unfortunate feuds have sprung up, rash committals have been made?" We have but but one suggestion to offer, and that may be taken for what it is worth. A call for the Philadelphia Convention, we suppose, is to be issued by the Executive Committee appointed at Pittsburgh. It cannot change time, place, or proportion of representation, and nobody desires any change here; but it can frame the terms of the call in the spirit of the Convention, so as to meet every reasonable demand. It can invite *the People of the United States*, who are determined to make the Question of Freedom to the Territories the one, great issue of the canvass, *without distinction of Party*, to meet in Conventions in the several States, to elect the numbers of delegates designated, to meet in the Convention at Philadelphia on the 17th of June, to make nominations on that issue. What honest Anti-Nebraska man, whatever his relations or prejudices, could not respond to such a call? All questions and conflicts about different or warring organizations, would thus be avoided. The People of New Hampshire, where they have no Republican organization in form; the People of Maine, where the Republican organization in form has absorbed and harmonized all classes of Anti-Nebraska voters; the People of Massachusetts, divided against each other on modes of policy; naturalized citizens, who are ready to support an Anti-Nebraska nomination, provided it involve no war on their rights; Whigs, who still cling to old memories, but wish to see the Pro-Slavery Party overthrown, and Democrats, who intend to bolt from their Party when its Convention at Cincinnati shall adopt the creed dictated by the Administration, could all respond to such a call as this. The difficulty in the way of union would be removed. The Convention would be the People's; and, for one, we are willing to trust the movement in their hands. Should they be true to Principle, it would triumph; should they prove otherwise, it will only show that they are not yet equal to the task of asserting their just rights.

As one, never trammelled by party relations, holding ourselves always free to support or oppose any movement or party, as our own judgment shall dictate, we merely throw out these suggestions for those more immediately concerned. Of course they are not specially applicable to the States of Iowa and Connecticut, in which delegates to the Nominating Convention have already been chosen.

THE LATE SLAVE CASE AT CINCINNATI.

We do not know that much editorial comment is needed on the recent painful and extraordinary slave case at Cincinnati. Our readers have noted the proceedings—the escape; the pursuit; the death of the child by the hands of the heroic mother to save it from a life of Slavery; the arrest of the victims of oppression, first as fugitive slaves, under United States process, then as criminals, under State process; the mandate of the District Judge Leavitt, to the Sheriff, to deliver them up, proceeding on the assumption that the right of the master is paramount to the right of a State to protect life and punish crime; the response of the Sheriff; the summary decision of the Judge, and the hot haste with which the mother and her companions, under the escort of men, willing to stain their souls with the price of blood, were hurried across the river to Kentucky, and placed under the absolute power of a man calling himself their owner. It now remains to say, that the devoted mother, Margaret, and her infant child, with the other victims, were shipped on the steamboat Henry Lewis, destined for the wilds of Arkansas—but on the passage, at night, while the passengers slept, a terrible collision with another boat on the Ohio river, startled the sleepers; the entire cabin was broken in two, the boat caught fire, and amidst shrieks and smoke and splinters and rushing waters, the passengers in their night clothes rushed for safety to the hurricane deck, whence the majority of them were at last rescued. Margaret and her companion were saved—but her child was drowned: God took it, and the mother rejoiced. She exhibited, says the Louisville *Courier*, "no other feeling than joy at the loss of her child."

The whole transaction is historical—the ages will remember it, and the names of the men, official or hireling, who have signalized themselves as the allies of Oppression in this dark event, will rot.

What a commentary upon the Despotism of Slavery! The claims of the master overriding the claims of a State! Human chattelship paramount over State Sovereignty! The infamous Fugitive Slave Act of Congress, stronger than the whole penal Code of a Sovereign State!

A few honest and excellent people have shown a disposition to blame Governor Chase, as if he could have prevented these outrages. They ought to know him well enough, not to accuse him lightly. Always aiming to secure some practical advantages for Freedom, he avoids noise and ostentation. We have reason to believe that his influence has been steadily exerted in favor of a bill to amend the *habeas corpus* act, introduced into the Legislature of Ohio two months ago, and that had it been passed in season, it would have prevented the terrible scenes since enacted at Cincinnati. The philanthropic Gerrit Smith, in a public letter addressed to the Governor, seems to think it was his duty to put himself at the head of whatever crowd he could rally, and rescue the fugitives. Rescue them from what—the county jail? From whom—the Sheriff? No—but from the Marshal, to hand them over to the Sheriff. But the Sheriff had them already in custody, under State process. We are informed, and have no doubt of the fact, that Governor Chase openly expressed his opinion of the transaction, and announced his purpose to support the Sheriff in his two-fold custody of the prisoners, with the whole power of the State if necessary, but how could he interfere until the occasion arose? The Sheriff is not his officer—he cannot control him—he can only act in aid and when called upon, in execution of the laws of the State. The issuing of the writ of *habeas corpus* by Judge Leavitt, the surrender of the fugitives by the Sheriff, and the monstrous order of the Judge for their delivery, no one could foresee—and we all know that so summary and rapid was the process, that the return of the Sheriff to a *capias*, issued by the Prosecuting Attorney after the action of Judge Leavitt, was, that he could not find the parties.

Governor Chase, so far as we can see, did his whole duty: the guilt of the transaction lies at the door of the system of Slavery, of the abominable Fugitive Slave Act, and of Judge Leavitt, who chose to assume that the State has no right to protect life or punish a criminal offence committed against its majesty, if it interfere with the claim of a foreign master to the services of the offender. Let public opinion fall upon the guilty, and not the innocent—upon the supporters, not opponents of Oppression.

For the National Era.

THE BURIAL OF BARBER.

Bear him, comrades, to his grave;
Never over one more brave
  Shall the prairie grasses weep,
In the ages yet to come,
When the millions in our room,
  What we sow in tears, shall reap.

Bear him up the icy hill,
With the Kansas frozen still
  As his noble heart, below,
And the land he came to till
With a freeman's thews and will,
  And his poor hut roofed with snow!

One more look of that dead face,
Of his murder's ghastly trace!
  One more kiss, oh, widowed one!
Lay your left hands on his brow,
Lift your right hands up, and vow
  That his work shall yet be done.

Patience, friends! The eye of God
Every path by Murder trod
  Watches, lidless, day and night;
And the dead man in his shroud,
And his widow weeping loud,
  And our hearts, are in his sight.

Every deadly threat that swells
With the roar of gambling hells,
  Every brutal jest and jeer,
Every wicked thought and plan
Of the cruel heart of man,
  Though but whispered, He can hear!

You in suffering, they in crime,
Wait the just award of time,
  Wait the vengeance that is due;
Not in vain a heart shall break,
Not a tear for Freedom's sake
  Fall unheeded: God is true.

While the flag with stars bedeck'd
Threatens where it should protect,
  And the Law shakes hands with Crime,
What is left ye but to wait,
Match your patience to your fate,
  And abide the better time?

Patience, friends! The human heart
Everywhere shall take your part,
  Everywhere for you shall pray;
On your side are nature's laws,
And God's life is in the cause
  That you suffer for to-day.

Well to suffer is divine;
Pass the watchword down the line,
  Pass the countersign: "Endure."
Not to him who rashly dares,
But to him who nobly bears,
  Is the victor's garland sure.

Frozen earth to frozen breast,
Lay our slain one down to rest;
  Lay him down in hope and faith,
And above the broken sod,
Once again, to Freedom's God,
  Pledge yourselves for life or death—

That the State whose walls ye lay,
In your blood and tears, to-day,
  Shall be free from bonds of shame,
And your goodly land untrod
By the feet of Slavery, shod
  With cursing as with flame!

Plant the Buckeye on its grave,
For the hunter of the slave
  In its shadow cannot rest;
And let martyr mound and tree
Be your pledge and guarantee
  Of the freedom of the West!

J. G. W.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE—ENGLAND.

The representatives of England, France, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, held their first Conference at Paris on the 25th ult., Count Walewski presiding. The Austrian propositions were adopted as the basis of negotiation; it was agreed that the armistice should last till the end of March; and then, after the members had pledged themselves by a written guarantee not to divulge the proceedings until closed, the Conference adjourned. Two meetings were subsequently held, but, as the rule of secrecy was strictly observed, nothing transpired.

Speculators were of course just as knowing as if they had been present at the meetings. They had already detected a grave hitch in the proceedings—the last point had been taken up first, whereupon Count Orloff proposed to refer it to a Congress of the Representatives of the Crowned Heads of Europe, whence arose consternation in Paris—in a word, the Conference was on the brink of being broken up by the artful diplomacy of Russia. These wild rumors had the effect intended, enabling the money-changers and stock-jobbers to profit by the panic.

The *New York Tribune*, catching at these speculations as if they were verities, makes them the occasion of profound editorials, all converging to one aim—the disparagement and degradation of England. At one time, according to that paper, England has accomplished what she intended by commencing the war—the perpetuation and extension of British Free Trade: at another, she has lost all her *prestige* as a military Power, disgraced her naval reputation, sunk to the level of a second-rate nation, and now plays second fiddle to France: at another, she alone is indisposed to peace, (because, we suppose, she is utterly exhausted, and her military power broken down!) and there is a threatened combination against her, by all the great Powers of Europe. It is marvellous to watch the confusion of ideas produced by the *Tribune's* unnatural antipathy to England.

The truth is, Russian power has sustained a decided check, through the united efforts of England and France, and for the time the dream of universal empire, so long cherished by the Czars, has been dispelled. Turkey is secure. If social and political reform be possible within her limits, the way is now fairly open. The claim of Russia to an exclusive protectorate over the Greek subjects of her neighbor is repudiated. The Danubian Principalities are saved. The grand scheme of belting Europe by a Russian circumvallation, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, of securing to Russia the command of both seas, and making her at once the greatest military and naval Power in the world, is indefinitely postponed. All this has been accomplished by the joint efforts of England and France. Neither Power alone could have effected so much: it required all the energies of both. To assume that England has come out of the struggle a second-rate Power, because she had not quite so many soldiers in the Crimea as France, and because her immense fleets did not achieve impossibilities, implies, we think, either prejudice or ignorance. Was it England that first gave indications of a desire to close the contest? Did not her steadiness of purpose constrain her Ally, against his inclination, to reject a peace that would have brought with it no security? Has not her spirit risen, her energy been developed, with the progress of the struggle? Russia gives signs of exhaustion—France fears it—but where are the symptoms of weakness in England? At this moment she is better prepared for the prosecution of the controversy than any of the parties to it. All the talk in the *Tribune* about "England declining to the rank of a second-rate Power," is mere flummery.

MR. FILLMORE COMPLIMENTED.

Mr. Graham, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Fillmore's Administration, lately addressed a meeting in at Granville in that State, called to ratify the nomination of Mr. Fillmore as a candidate for the Presidency. He said that the crisis when Mr. F. assumed the reins of Government was as threatening as it is now, but the firm hand of that wise and great man calmed the waves of tumult, and restored peace to the country! He thought him, above all our statesmen, the man best fitted for the Presidency, safest for the South. "He (Mr. Graham) had nothing unkind to say against the respectable gentleman who now filled the Presidential chair, but *he could not forget, that whilst Mr. Fillmore had turned out of office every Free-Soiler in his own State, Mr. Pierce had discharged from office the Collector of the port of New York, because he would not use the patronage of his place in rewarding Free-Soilers.*"

Of course this high testimony will be appreciated at the North, and tend to deepen the devotion to Mr. Fillmore that already characterizes the people of the Free States.

RHODE ISLAND.

The General Assembly of Rhode Island closed its session on Saturday. Among the business transacted during the session were resolutions to amend the Constitution of the State so as to abolish the registry tax; to authorize the General Assembly to assess a poll tax of one dollar; to require twenty-one years residence in the United States as a qualification for suffrage; and to raise the per diem compensation of the General Assembly from one dollar to two dollars. The resolution to amend the Constitution, by requiring the ability to read as a qualification for suffrage, was voted down. The resolution adopted must be submitted to the next General Assembly; and, if again adopted, they will be submitted to the people. Two acts were passed for the protection of married women. They are authorized to devise real estate as well as personal, and deposites in savings banks made in their names are secured to their own use, and can only be drawn by their own written order.—*An Exchange.*

Rhode Island has a vast capital invested in manufacturing establishments, and her true policy is to encourage the immigration of labor. She has but a small proportion of foreign-born population, and receives few foreign immigrants. In the census tables of 1850, the numbers of foreigners arriving within her border from abroad were, in 1845, 155; in 1847, 76; in 1852, 54; and, according to an Official Report of the State Department, the whole number in 1855 was 83! And yet, we find the Legislature so far gone in the infatuation of Know Nothingism, as to pass a bill to amend the Constitution, so as to require twenty-one years residence in the State as a qualification for the exercise of the right of suffrage! The measure is of course aimed at naturalized citizens, but if the statement above be correct, it will apply also to native Americans, born in other States! This, we suppose, is a specimen of Know Nothing legislation. It is disgraceful to the State afflicted by it. Is is some consolation to know that the thing cannot become a law till agreed to by another Legislature, and then by the People. We hope, before that time, they will have come to their senses.

REPUBLICAN PARTY ORGANIZED IN IOWA.

In pursuance of previous notice, a State Convention was held, in Iowa city, on the 22d February, to organize a Republican Party. A committee of ten—one from each Judicial District—having been appointed to report the names of permanent officers, reported for President, Hon. Philip Velie, seven Vice Presidents, and four Secretaries. A Committee on Credentials reported the names of two hundred and sixty delegates from thirty-six counties. A Committee on Resolutions reported a series, presenting clearly the one great issue forced upon the country by Slavery, free from all extraneous matter, which was unanimously adopted.

Presidential electors were chosen as follows:

Reuben Noble, Clayton; H. O. Conner, Muscatine; Daniel F. Miller, Lee; W. M. Stone, Marion.

Also, Delegates to the National Convention:

Francis Springer, Louisa; S. D. Carpenter, Linn; F. H. Warren, Des Moines; H. A. Wiltse, Dubuque; Joseph W. Caldwell, Wapello; Jas. H. B. Armstrong, Appanoose; J. B. Howell, Lee; E. Mayne, Van Buren.

After the appointment of a State Central Committee, and a Committee to issue an address, the Convention adjourned.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

The Boston *Atlas* contains returns from 186 towns in New Hampshire, which foot up as follows:

1855.			1856.		
Metcalf.	Baker.	Bell.	Metcalf.	Wells.	Godwin.
30,231	23,656	3,237	28,530	28,160	2,098

Majority for Metcalf, 1855, 3,338. Ninety-three scattering votes are returned from three towns in this election—so that the majority against Metcalf in 1856 is 2,191; his plurality is but 370.

The Legislature will have to choose the Governor, and the indications are, that while the Administration Party will share the Senate about equally, the Opposition will have a decided majority in the House.

It will be observed, that Metcalf has lost in the 186 towns since last year, 1,701; Straight-out Whig loss, 1,139; Administration gain, 4,506; increase in total vote, since 1855, 1,757. If we add the loss on Metcalf's vote, and that on the Straight-out Whig vote, to this increase, we have 4,607, or just fifty more votes than the Administration gain.

It is well to look these facts in the face. Last year, under the immediate excitement produced by the passage of the Nebraska bill, many voters waived their opposition to Know Nothingism, and either remained at home, or cast their votes so as to give an overwhelming majority against the Administration. This year, nominal as Know Nothingism is in New Hampshire, still the reaction against it has been almost strong enough to revive the ascendency of the Administration. Another year, unless there be a change of policy, the State will be lost. As it now stands, the result of the election shows an amount of strength in the Anti-Nebraska sentiment of New Hampshire, that, if freed from extraneous issues, must bear down all opposition.

There, as in Chicago, the small gains made by the Administration, it owes to the false position in which the Anti-Nebraska voters have been placed by the intervention of Know Nothingism. In both places, Republicanism will take its true position before the November elections.

Later.—Returns from 219 towns give Metcalf 30,980, Wells 31,490, Goodwin (Whig) 2,337, showing a plurality for Wells. It is supposed that the result will not be materially varied by the returns yet to be received from the remaining ten towns.

Surely our friends in New Hampshire must see the necessity of placing themselves on the one platform of Freedom.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN CONNECTICUT.

The Republican party in Connecticut is now organized. The proceedings of the State Convention which met at Hartford on the 12th inst. are briefly sketched in another column. Ex-Governor Cleveland, ex-Senator Niles, Gideon Welles, Prof. Benjamin Silliman, sen., and other men of position, took part in the movement. The first two resolutions of the series, reported by John M. Niles, and adopted by the Convention, are as follows:

Resolved, That we regard the Republican movement and organization as having been forced upon the country by the unconstitutional and despotic measures and aggressions of the National Administration, and the want of any other party occupying a position suitable for combining public sentiment and rendering it effective for resisting such aggressions, for defending the rights of the people, and vindicating the principles of Freedom.

Resolved, That the recent Convention at Pittsburgh, which first inaugurated the Republican movement as a National organization, was demanded by the circumstances of the country; that its proceedings were patriotic and judicious, and meet our hearty approval; believing that they have already exerted a powerful influence in inspiring confidence and awakening exertions in the cause which the Convention so ably represented.

A Committee, consisting of the Hon. John M. Niles, A. A. Burnham, and Charles Ives, was appointed to draw up and publish an Address.

Delegates to the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia were appointed, as follows:

From the State at large—John M. Niles, Hartford; Benjamin Silliman, New Haven; D. F. Robinson, Hartford; Charles Ives, New Haven; Chauncey F. Cleveland, Hampton; Charles Adams, Litchfield.

Substitutes—Calvin Day, Hartford; Julius Pratt, Meriden; Perry Smith, Hartford; Charles A. Judson, New Haven; A. A. Burnham, Hampton; Elliott Beardsley, Winsted.

From Congressional Districts—1st, Dwight Loomis, Rockville; James M. Bunce, Hartford; Thaddeus Welles, Glastenbury. *Substitutes*—J. F. Stickney, Rockville; Joseph R. Hawley, Hartford; Thomas T. Fisher, Hartford.

2d. Benjamin Douglass, Middletown; Charles L. English, New-Haven; Elihu Spencer, Middletown. *Substitutes*—Henry Taintor, Clinton; Charles Ball, New Haven; Wm. H. Buell, Clinton.

3d. Daniel P. Tyler, Brooklyn; Augustus Brandagee, New London; Moses Pierce, Norwich. *Substitutes*—Amos D. Lockwood, Windham; J. H. Carpenter, Willimantic; N. T. Adams, Jewett City.

4th. Frederick S. Wildman, Danbury; George D. Wadhams, Wolcottville; Wm. B. Hoyt, Danbury. *Substitutes*—Lewis Beers, Stratford; Ammi Giddings, Plymouth; Edgar S. Tweedy, Stamford.

☞ The subject of the following articles (the first of a series of four which we shall insert in the *Era*) is of vast interest to the Public. The writer has thoroughly studied it, and she deals with it in a way that must command attention.

HEALTH FOR THE PEOPLE.

No. I.

To the Editors of Newspapers in the United States:

The American Woman's Educational Association is an organization of ladies, (with an incorporated board of gentlemen co-operating with them,) to promote improved modes of Education, especially in reference to their own sex. They aim to direct more attention to the distinctive duties of woman as the educator of the mind, the guardian of early health, and the conservator of domestic economy and the family state.

They are led to the present effort by a painful conviction that the customs of domestic life and the modes of education during the present century have induced *a universal debility of constitution*, and, in consequence, a decay of national health, especially among women.

It is believed that these evils can be remedied, and that the first step must be *to set forth to all the people these evils*, and the remedy. The only medium for attempting this is the Newspaper Press.

It is therefore proposed that this notice, and four short articles, prepared by one of the ladies of the Association, should be admitted into all the newspapers of the land, and that the editors direct special attention to them.

These articles will be headed "Health for the People," and will contain a brief statement of those changes in our domestic habits and modes of education that have tended to destroy national health, the evils thus induced, and the remedies for these evils.

The Board of Managers for the Association in whose behalf this request is made, embraces many of the most distinguished educators and authoresses in our nation, such as Mrs. Sigourney, Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Kirkland, Mrs. Hale, Mrs. Conant, Mrs. Ricord, Mrs. Stowe, and others.

The undersigned, in behalf of this Board, asks the favor above indicated of all the editors of this nation. Very respectfully,

William L. Parsons,
Cor. Secretary and General Agent of the American Woman's Educational Ass'n.

Causes of the Decay of National Health.

Two things are generally conceded, viz: that the American women are not as healthy as the European; and that the present generation, especially the women, are not as healthy and vigorous as former ones.

What are the causes? Not our *climate*, for that is the same as it was when the women of this country were as healthy as the English, Scotch, and Irish, and when both sexes were as vigorous as their ancestors or any other people. The change, then, must be owing to changes in our domestic habits and modes of education. Some of these will now be indicated.

Nothing so certainly deteriorates and undermines the body as habitually breathing impure air. The *open fire-places* in kitchens, parlors, bedrooms, and workshops, secured to our ancestors *pure and cool air*. But, at the present day, close stoves and close sleeping-rooms, with no proper ventilation, are debilitating perhaps nine-tenths of the people, while children are crowded into schools heated with stoves, and almost never properly ventilated.

Four-fifths of all the food and drink taken are thrown off through the lungs and skin. Every pair of lungs vitiates one pint of air at every expiration. That is equal to one hogshead of air each hour for every pair of lungs.

No room, then, can be properly ventilated, that does not receive from without at least *one hogshead of air for every pair of lungs*. This is always secured by open fire-places, but by a stove almost never. Thus it is that the greater part of this generation have had every bodily tissue nourished by imperfected blood, thus inducing a delicate or feeble constitution.

A second cause of debility is the want of vigorous exercise, especially to the muscles of the arms and trunk. In former days, the children worked with their parents, in pure and cool air, for several hours a day, and thus exercised the muscles most important to health, especially to female health.

But in these days, school children, especially the youngest girls, have little vigorous exercise. And where exercise is demanded, a walk of a mile or two is deemed sufficient, while the exercise of the muscles most important to health is entirely neglected. Thus both sexes, but especially that on whom depends the constitution of the children, are every year becoming more delicate and sickly.

The third cause of national debility is a change from a simple to a stimulating and luxurious diet. Stimulating food provokes an unnatural appetite. A great variety tempts to excess. Both combine to overload the organs of nutrition, and the whole organism is strained and overworked to throw off the excess.

The more food we eat, and the richer it is, the more exercise is needed. But, instead of this, the people constantly are eating more and exercising less. Meat is the most stimulating food there is, and there is no other nation on earth where all classes devour such quantities of meat, fat, butter, sugar, molasses, hot cakes, and hot tea and coffee. And no nation on earth have such bad teeth, and every other indication of a debilitated constitution.

A fourth cause of national debility is *excess in stimulating the brain, unbalanced by exercise and recreations.* Fifty years since, to read, write, and cipher, were all that was expected out of a college course. No daily drilling in hot school-rooms in all manner of sciences, with evening lessons at home. No Sunday lessons, no books for children at every turn, both Sundays and week days. There is fifty times as much intellectual stimulus of the brain in childhood as was ever known in former generations. Then the cares, business, and excitements of all kinds, for both men and women, have increased at an equal ratio. *Everything* is going on at high-steam pressure. Now, the more the brain is thus stimulated, the greater the need for pure air, exercise, and seasons of relaxation. But, contrary to this, the more the brains of children and adults are stimulated, the less pure air and exercise are secured. And so the nervous system is exhausted, and the whole organism becomes delicate or diseased. To use the words of a medical writer, "the constant exercise of the brain takes up the chief strength of the system, and consumes it in feeling and thinking."

Another cause of general debility is the *fashions of female dress*. The *stays* of our ancestors were trifles, compared with the accumulated enormities that have been practiced on the female form during the last twenty years. The thin covering for the upper portion of the spine and the vital organs in cold weather, the accumulation of clothing on the lower portion, the pressure of tight dresses around the waist, the pressure of whalebones in pointed waists, and the *weight* as well as the *heat* of the enormous mass of clothing resting on the hips—all these, combining with delicate constitutions, have produced, and are increasingly producing, terrific results, that are but little known or understood.

[The next article will present the *Evidence and Results of the Decay of National Health.*]

LETTER FROM JUDGE HORNBLOWER.

The following letter from the celebrated Chief Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, was not received until after the adjournment of the late Republican National Convention. It is from a man whose fame is national:

Newark, N J., *Feb.* 21, 1856.

To the President and Members of the Republican Convention at Pittsburgh:

Gentlemen: It was only yesterday that I received intelligence of my appointment as a delegate to your Convention. But, notwithstanding the shortness of the notice, I would have endeavored to meet with you, and mingled in your deliberations, but for my advanced age and the inclemency of the season. In my long life, I have scarcely ever received any manifestation of the favorable opinion of my fellow-citizens of this my native State, that has been more grateful to my feelings, or conferred upon me more honor, than in appointing me a delegate to the "Republican" Convention. The very name gives a fresh impetus to the blood (now chilled with the frost of many winters) which first coursed in my veins when, in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, (in 1777,) I was born into the world, an American *freeman*, under the banners of Liberty. I am rejoiced and thankful that I have been spared to see the day when the friends of human liberty have once more raised the "Republican" standard—a standard around which all that are true Whigs, all true-hearted Americans, and all the friends of constitutional rights, of whatever political name, can rally and cordially unite all their moral and persuasive influence in checking the further spread of the disgrace and curse of Human Slavery. I will not conceal the fact, that I hate Slavery in all its aspects and consequences. I hate it religiously, politically, and as a domestic institution. But, at the same time, I could act harmoniously with no party that would by Congressional legislation, or by any violent or revolutionary conduct, attempt to interfere with the municipal regulations of any State that chooses to retain and cherish the institution within her own territorial limits. True, the compromises made by our fathers, in framing the Federal Constitution, which secures to every man, who "owns" (I blush to use the word) five of his fellow beings, in effect, four votes, while the "Republican" citizen of a free State, who owns no human *chattels*, can have but one vote, was a hard bargain, and we have borne the consequences of it with unflinching integrity. But against the extension of Slavery where it does not now lawfully exist, or the addition to the Union of any more slave States, I do solemnly protest, in behalf of myself, my children, my country, and the world. Pardon me for thus far intruding myself upon your time and attention; but having, without being consulted upon the subject, been selected as a delegate to your body, I have thought it due to my constituents, to my friends at home, to those with whom I have hitherto politically acted, and to your honorable body, thus plainly and unqualifiedly to enrol myself for life a soldier, old and almost worn out as I am, under the banners of the great "Republican" party.

That the spirit of true wisdom and pure patriotism may pervade your assembly, and guide your deliberations to happy and successful results, is the prayer of your obedient servant,

Jos. C. Hornblower.

ELECTION LAW FOR KANSAS.

The following are the 4th, 5th, and 6th sections of a bill reported by the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives, to regulate elections hereafter in Kansas:

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person, not being an actual inhabitant or resident of the said Territory, shall cast his vote at any election which may be held in the said Territory by authority of law, such person so offending shall, on conviction thereof in any criminal court, be punished by fine not less than twenty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, and imprisonment not less than two months nor more than six months; that if any person or persons shall come into any election district of said Territory in armed and organized bodies, for the purpose of participating in disturbances, controlling or voting at any election held or to be held under the authority of law therein, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction thereof in any criminal court, be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars and not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment for a term not less than three months and not exceeding one year.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person, being a member of any such armed and organized body as described in the preceding section, or connected therewith, and a non-resident of the said Territory, shall vote at any election which may be held in the said Territory by authority of law, he shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars and not exceeding five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for a term of not less than six months and not more than two years.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That any judge of election who shall wilfully and knowingly allow any vote to be polled in violation of the fourth and fifth sections of this act, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than three hundred dollars, and be imprisoned for a term of not less than six months nor more than one year.

That all offences under this act may be prosecuted by indictment in any criminal court having jurisdiction of felonies or misdemeanors committed in said Territory. All laws, rules, or regulations inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby declared null and void.

OBITUARY.

Dr. Thomas E. Bond, late editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, in this city, died yesterday, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He was an influential member of the Methodist religious society, and for many years conducted the *Advocate*, which is the organ of that society, to the general acceptation of the body. His loss will be severely felt.

N. Y. Times, March 15.

The Review.

MORTIMER'S COLLEGE LIFE. By E. J. May, author of "Louis's School Days," &c., with Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856.

We have never seen "Louis's School Days," the former production of this author; but from an appreciative notice of that work a year or two since, in the *London Atheneum*, we were prepared to sit down to an examination of a new volume, by the same author, with some prepossessions. We have not been disappointed; and after a careful perusal of this work, we can say that it is one we think of superior merit. Its tone of morals is high, the stamp of its religious character is that of the Bible, which is freely quoted. The conduct of the story is good. It belongs to that class of books which will profit the young and old—the former, as it introduces them to persons of their own age, and developes the temptations and trials to which the youthful mind and heart are often exposed; and the latter, as it commends the kindly spirit with which the maturer in life should seek to discipline those who are passing through similar periods and scenes of which they have had experience. College life at the universities in England, though differing in the exact form and arrangement of details from those in our own, still, too, has such a similarity, that the student here will recognise the feelings he finds described; and, we should hope, may borrow lessons of wisdom from the honest and faithful bearing of Louis Mortimer, as depicted in these pages. There are some scenes, too, of touching pathos. The death of the young heir on the day he attained his majority, after having won all the high honors of his university, is told with much effect; and the end of ambition, in one of its least objectionable forms, teaches the vanity of all those who "build too low," while their hopes are not set above mere earthly things. The reward, too, of perseverance in humble, self-denying duty, is beautifully exemplified in other examples. A severe rebuke is administered to the Puseyite formalities which have found place among many in the established Church of England, while at the same time the outward correctness, and in many instances earnest devotedness of some of these men, as well as the want of candor of those who condemn, are suitably noticed. On the whole, the volume is written in a fair and commendable spirit towards the different classes of Christians; and while, no doubt, individuals in other churches may think that perhaps the authoress leans, as is natural, to her own church, very probably, had they been in her place, there might have been a greater sacrifice of candor and justice. We cannot say that we like all the illustrations; for, with one or two exceptions, they might be much improved. S.

THE HOMESTEAD ON THE HILLSIDE, and other Tales. By Mrs. Mary J. Holmes, author of "Tempest and Sunshine," and "The English Orphans." New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan. 1856.

Some of these tales we believe we have seen published elsewhere separately, and, in our view, it would have been better for the author's literary reputation had they so remained. Many things which may be passed over in the more ephemeral form, must be subjected to a severer review when embraced as parts of a full-sized volume. There is a great inequality in these products of the author's mind. Two or three of them may rank perhaps somewhat above mediocrity, but the greater portion of the volume appears to us to fall considerably below it. The attempts at wit too often degenerate into vulgarity, and the namby-pamby character of the first tale, which gives name to the work, greatly mars all there is in it of a contrary kind.

In her portraits, or personages, the author, in the evident effort to make them effective sketches of living men or women, loses sight of the natural, so that they border on caricature, or become tame repetitions. The great defect of such writing is, that while in its outlines it may be truthful, in its filling up in the picture there is a falling off, and the whole is destitute of naturalness. The last part of the book is the best, as the characteristics we have mentioned are not frequent or glaring. The author might evidently do better, were more attention paid to her style in some particulars; and if she should harmonize the discrepancies of characters, the effect would be more impressive. This, however, could hardly be expected, if, as we conjecture, these tales are but gathered up from hastily thrown off supplies of some periodical. S.

Correspondence of the Era.

THE ELECTION IN CHICAGO EXPLAINED.

We have received another letter from Chicago, explaining the result of the late election in that city. Omitting the preliminary remarks, we proceed at once to the explanation.—*Ed. Era.*

CHICAGO, *March* 7, 1856.

Still, the result is a disaster, and, as such, its causes should be explained, and these are two. The first was the wholesale illegal voting, which was carried on to an extent without parallel in our history, save in Kansas. There is no registry law here, and every man who offers a vote is allowed to cast it, unless specially challenged. If challenged, he is put on oath, and if he takes this, his vote is received, unless evidence is produced that he is not a voter. This evidence, it is impossible in most cases to have on hand, above all, in such a city as this, where a person becomes an old resident in a year, and the people are so much strangers to each other. The consequence was, that hundreds of illegal votes were cast. The challengers prevented some that were offered, and the Irish, when called on to swear, in many instances withdrew, refusing to take the oath. Some persons voted several times in the different wards. In the seventh—the leading Irish ward—where, last year, when a larger vote was cast than ever before, the number of votes was 593, this year it rose to the enormous increase of 1,218, of which Dyer's plurality was 670, more than double. Other wards exhibited an increase which bears on its face the grossest fraud. Had there been no illegal voting, Sherman, the Anti-Nebraska candidate, would have been chosen by 500 majority, at least. But even this was not what the country should expect of Chicago. Of all her voters, there are not less than 2,000 majority against the Nebraska bill and its supporters. Where are they, then? We have accounted for some of them on local and personal considerations, but this explanation is not sufficiently comprehensive. They might, and, indeed, should have put forth more energy in canvassing, so as to counteract the effect of the thousands of dollars lavished by the Nebraskaites in whisky and other disreputable appliances.

But there was another rock on which they split. The Germans and other immigrants from the Continent, who are voters, number from 1,500 to 2,000. Probably the last figure expresses better their strength. Two-thirds, and probably three-fourths of them are Anti-Nebraska. If no offence had been given to their race, if no movement had been started against them, we should have had the great body of them with us. But so it was; such influences have been put in operation to drive them from us, that not five hundred of them voted with us as they had heretofore. Let it be put on record, let the Anti-Slavery men of the country, from Maine to Minnesota, read and be instructed that it was Know Nothingism which was the great cause of this Douglas, Nebraska triumph, now resounding through the land, and but for Know Nothingism, Anti-Nebraskaism would have triumphed here by over 2,000 majority.

The Know Nothing Councils are here to a great extent deserted. The masses who joined them have ceased to attend them. A small number, however, continue to frequent them, and their faction is kept alive by the *Native Citizens*. They nominated in their councils a ticket for municipal officers, selecting their own men, with the exception of Mayor; for which office, conscious that they could not succeed without co-operation with the Republicans, they nominated Mr. Sherman, who was not connected with them, and did not sympathize with them. They published this ticket, and insisted on running it. The *Native Citizen* published the statement, which was rung in the ear of every adopted citizen till election, that Mr. Sherman was an American, and was nominated and supported as such by the Americans.

Mr. Sherman had already been suggested by the Republicans for Mayor before this nomination, and, on being addressed by several prominent citizens on behalf of the Anti-Nebraska, declared himself a candidate on that issue alone. To inquiries put to him, he published a card, stating that he was not and had never been a Know Nothing, and was opposed to an extension of the naturalization term. The Republicans on the whole concluded to sustain the ticket, yet with many misgivings. Unexceptionable as Mr. Sherman was as a candidate, personally, the fact of his nomination in the Know Nothing Councils, and his association with Know Nothings on a ticket, together with the statement of the *Citizen*, although denied as it was, were enough to give plausibility to the charge that the ticket was a Know Nothing one, and the party which sustained it a Know Nothing party. This was the key note of the whole campaign. *Know Nothingism, Know Nothingism, Know Nothingism,* blazed in every column of the Douglas sheet, the *Times*. The demagogues rang the cry in every saloon and shop of the Germans, and told them that unless they went in a body to the polls to vote for Dyer, the Louisville and Cincinnati riots would be repeated on them. These appeals were sufficient to carry along men who have been made suspicious by the organized movement to degrade them, and the secret crusade against their rights of citizenship. The most intelligent and earnest remained faithful, but they could not lead the rest. The Irish were inflamed by constant appeals, and rushed to the polls with a unity and *esprit de corps* never before known. All along before the election, the charge that Sherman was a Know Nothing was repeated, and as often as it was denied, it was reiterated. The morning of the election, a placard appeared, stating that he was seen issuing from a Know Nothing lodge; and false as the statement was, in the excited state of the public mind it was believed by many.

The leading Republicans attribute the result to the unfortunate position in which they have been placed. They regret that such a course was not pursued as to exclude the possible suspicion of affiliation with Know Nothingism. All of them concur and such is the prevailing sentiment of the friends of Freedom in Chicago, that the Order has done infinite and irreparable damage, in distracting their councils and driving the liberal Germans into the ranks of Nebraska Democracy.

Dr. Bailey, you are right in your warfare on Know Nothingism. In exposing and denouncing it, you have done a service not inferior to that you rendered when to speak a word for Freedom was to run the risk of mob violence—and a service, I regret to say, that few Anti-Slavery men have had the comprehension to appreciate, and fewer still the courage to co-operate. You began the work when the cry on all sides was "hush, be quiet," and now every earnest and intelligent Anti-Slavery man in the land is with you. The professed allies of Freedom, who gave to this crusade its first energy and its earliest successes, will have to answer at the bar of God and of Humanity for treason to the grandest and holiest of causes. I have no patience with the meanness and presumption of your subscribers, who stop your paper because it utters an independent word on this subject. Tell them that it is their infidelity which now enables Douglas to boast that Chicago has succumbed to him. *

A WORD FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CONCORD, N. H., *March* 10, 1856.

To-morrow will settle the question, whether or not the present occupant of the Presidential Chair is to be put in nomination again for the office he now fills? I have no doubt how that question is to be settled; and it will be so settled as to relieve the Democratic party from the necessity of attempting to do what the people of this country long since resolved they would not do—give to the same man two terms of the Presidential office. The National Administration party will be overwhelmingly defeated; and yet the nominee of that party for Governor will poll 5,000 more votes than could possibly be secured for President Pierce to-morrow, were they to be asked for him for a second term of the office he now holds; and all this when thousands will vote for the competitor of Mr. Wells with marked reluctance. But I beg you not to consider the re-election of Governor Metcalf as a "Know Nothing," or what is called an "American" triumph, for such it will not be. The Republicans will have the right to be merry, and they will at once take their position as soon as the voting of to-morrow shall be over. This is now well understood; and the few who desire to prefix the term "*American*" to the well-selected name of "REPUBLICAN," will hardly be accommodated in that particular, as we have never been made familiar with the terms of "*American Whigs,*" "*American Democrats,*" or "*American Federalists.*" We shall be simply "REPUBLICANS."

There will not be the shadow even of a party in favor of Millard Fillmore for President and Andrew J. Donelson for Vice President, in the Granite State; but there will be a few who will strive to dictate to the Republicans, as to whom they shall put in nomination for those offices. It is hoped here that the Republicans will make such nominations as will meet the approbation and secure the support of all who are opposed to the policy of the present Administration, and that thousands and hundreds of thousands, who have heretofore acted with the improperly styled Democratic party, will rally around the Republican standard, and help bear it to the triumph that surely awaits it in November next.

Well-behaved citizens will not much longer be reproached, in New England, because they were born, as our honored forefathers were, just where their parents happened to reside. We still call our land "an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and a fit home for all who would be free," provided they seek it not as criminals or as paupers, for us to watch, arrest, punish, or support. The names of Montgomery, Lafayette, yea, of Columbus, are still honored, though one was of Ireland, one of France, and the other born in the far-off city of Genoa, while Benedict Arnold and the accomplished Aaron Burr have few, if any, admirers here, although one was born in New England and the other in New York. Birthplace and sectarian views are thought less of by men of sense than are personal character, moral worth, political integrity, and the good men do for the age in which they live, and for the happiness of those who are to come after them.

We still cling to "freedom of speech and of the press," and are ready to battle for "religious toleration," even though we dislike Popes and domineering potentates. We mean still longer to be true *Republicans*, and will do nothing to aid on the efforts of others to irreligious persecutions in this country. ***

REPUBLICANS IN CONNECTICUT.

WATERBURY, CONN., *March* 10, 1856.

A Republican party is in process of formation in this State, and the prospect is cheering that it will give a good report of itself next fall. Your course meets my hearty approval, as I should think it must that of every honest Anti-Slavery man who has sense enough to see the actual condition of things as they now exist. Opposition to the further extension of Slavery must be the only issue; any other must inevitably continue the Slavery Propaganda indefinitely in power. Let the *Era* continue as at present, and its influence will tell powerfully for the right.

A State Convention of the Republicans of Connecticut assembled at Hartford, on the 12th, for the nomination of State officers. Hon. Chauncey F. Cleaveland was chosen President, but, in consequence of an engagement out of town, he was obliged to decline, and Charles L. English, of New Haven, was chosen in his place. The following was the result of the second ballot for Governor:

Whole number of votes, 256.

Gideon Welles	135
Benj. Silliman	85
Elihu Spencer	18
Wm. T. Minor	12
Francis Gillette	3
John M. Niles	2
Thomas S. Williams	1

The third and last ballot resulted:

Necessary for a choice, 137.

Gideon Welles had	218
William T. Minor	8
Benjamin F. Silliman	42

Gideon Welles, Esq., of Hartford, was declared unanimously nominated.

The Convention then chose, for Lieutenant Governor, Henry B. Harrison, of New Haven; Treasurer, Joseph B. Gay; Secretary, John Boyd, of Winsted; Comptroller, John T. Adams, of Norwich.

ORGANIZING IN CINCINNATI.

CINCINNATI, *March* 3, 1856.

DR. BAILEY: I enclose the constitution and platform adopted by the Hamilton County Republican Association, which I would be glad to have you copy in the *Era*. Our association is composed of an active and enterprising body of men. Three American dailies and four German papers of the city advocate its principles. Yours, truly, JAMES ELLIOTT.

The meeting of the Republican Association Saturday night, at Mechanics' Institute, was very largely attended, the hall being densely crowded.

The platform of the Association, as amended, is as follows:

To maintain the union of the States and the rights of the States, to resist the spread of Slavery and the aggressions of the Slave Power, and to secure a free Government for a free people, the undersigned citizens of Hamilton county hereby unite in fraternal association, under the name of the Republican Association of Hamilton County, and adopt the following Platform.

PLATFORM.

ART. 1st. We demand for all men equal rights and exact justice, defended by just and equal laws, and protected by honest and impartial administration.

ART. 2d. We resist all attempts to subvert or impair American institutions by any combination, native or foreign, or by any power, civil or ecclesiastical.

ART. 3d. We acknowledge the equal rights of all persons to impartial protection in the enjoyment of religious freedom, and of all American citizens, whether natives or naturalized, to the free exercise of the elective franchise; and we propose no extension of the five years' residence now required in order to naturalization, and no tests for office, except honesty, capacity, and devotion to American institutions.

ART. 4th. We require for our country a government of the people, instead of a government by an oligarchy; a government maintaining before the world the rights of men, rather than the privileges of masters, a government sympathizing with the efforts of oppressed nations to secure their liberties, rather than with the tyrannical despotisms which are leagued against them.

ART. 5th. We insist that there shall be no slavery outside of slave States, and no domination over the action of the National Government by the Slave Power; and in order to accomplish these ends, we are ready to co-operate, frankly and cordially, with all our fellow-citizens, of whatever political views in other respects, who are willing to postpone other questions for the sake of union upon the common platform of Exclusion of Slavery from National Territories, and in the support of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, avowedly and reliably in favor of that object.

CHARTER ELECTION IN NEW YORK.

WEST EDMISTON, *March* 5, 1856.

Yesterday was a glorious day for Freedom in this town. Although it was a very *snowy* and *blustering* day, insomuch that the roads in this town were *nearly impassable*, yet the Republican ticket was elected by over sixty majority. There was no other ticket in town, except the Know Nothing. *They did what they could, but they utterly failed.*

ORGANIZING IN ILLINOIS.

MONMOUTH, ILL., *February* 25, 1856.

SIR: It gives me great pleasure to be able to inform you that a *clean* Republican party has been inaugurated in this county, according to previous notice. The citizens of Warren county, who repudiated all previous party preferences, met at the Court-house, in Monmouth, on the 22d instant, and, after an animated discussion of the Know Nothing question, the meeting very unanimously (and it was very large) agreed to have nothing to do with any party but the Republican. We then adopted a basis for our future operations. H. M. ROBB.

ONE WEEK LATER FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, March 12.—The English mail steamer Arabia arrived here last night. She left Liverpool at 1 P. M. of March 1st, and met with no ice on her voyage.

A despatch received by Brown, Shipley, & Co., the Liverpool agent of the Collins line of steamers, dated Glasgow, February 27, says:

"The steamer Edinburgh, from New York, passed on the 7th instant large quantities of broken ice. On it was seen a quantity of broken cabinet furniture, five ornamental doors, with white or glass handles, a lady's work-box, and other articles, such as are commonly in the cabin of a first-class steamer. The Edinburgh was then five days out, and in lat. 40° 36′, long. 45° 40′."

The steamer Hermann sailed from Southampton on the 27th. The Quaker City (substituted for the Pacific) had not arrived out when the Arabia left.

The Peace Conference at Paris has held three meetings. At the first meeting, on the 25th of February, Count Walewski presided, and opened the session with a speech. After exchanging credentials, a written guarantee was signed, not to divulge the proceedings until the conferences were closed. The Austrian propositions were formally paraphrased as the basis of the negotiation.

Rumors, favorable and otherwise, are abundant, but the general impression is, that matters have thus far progressed favorably to a peace. It is reported, but perhaps is doubtful, that Russia has consented to concede to the required limitations, but that she will not abandon her protectorate over the Greek Christians. The opinion increases, that immediately after peace is formally signed, a general European Congress will meet, to adjust the balance of power.

France and Austria are said to favor the idea, but England objects. The evident cordiality existing between France and Austria, it is stated, begins to excite uneasiness in England; and a triple league between France, Austria, and Prussia, is surmised as not an improbable incident of the future.

The London *Morning Advertiser* has a despatch to the effect that it is not improbable that the result of the moves of the artful diplomatists of Russia may cause an immediate breaking up of the Conference. A very grave hitch had already occurred. Though the fifth point is last, it was agreed to take it up first; and accordingly at the second meeting it was submitted for consideration. Orloff and Brunow objected, and proposed to refer it to a Congress of all the crowned heads of Europe, pledging themselves in the name of the Czar to abide by whatever decision might be reached. This unexpected course produced consternation at Paris, causing a fall of the French funds. It also surprised and alarmed the British Government.

Lord Cowley was expected at London, to take instructions from the Government on the subject. The London *Times* notices rumors to the same effect, which caused a fall in the English funds of one per cent.; but a rally ensued, the rumors remaining unconfirmed.

Great Britain.—There is talk of an early dissolution of the British Parliament, or a change in the Government. This rumor affects the funds.

In the Commons, Sir De Lacy Evans gave notice of a resolution disapproving of the course of the Government in refusing direct offers of troops from Canada, whilst it was at the same time making abortive attempts to enlist men in in the adjoining neutral territory.

The excitement respecting the American difficulties seems to be totally extinct. The Lord Mayor of London gave a banquet to Mr. Buchanan; but, being summoned to dine with the Queen, the latter could not be present. The Lord Mayor, in his speech, regretted the absence of Mr. Buchanan, as the reception he would have met from the representatives of the leading interests in England would have proved to him the absence of all unfriendly feelings with regard to America, and that the interests of commerce, peace, civilization, and humanity, were too powerful to permit a collision between the two countries. Similar feelings were expressed by other speakers, including Mr. Cobden and Earl Elgin.

Russia has ordered the immediate issue of treasury notes to the amount of twenty-one millions of roubles. Large amounts of specie had been forwarded across the Prussian frontiers to St. Petersburgh. Great energy is manifested in Russia in regard to railways. The relations between Russia and Persia increase in cordiality.

Three thousand Russians are employed, day and night, in constructing a triple row of piles across the Gulf of Finland, six miles from Cronstadt, behind which is the Russian steam fleet—eighteen ships, fourteen corvettes, and seventy gun-boats.

Orders have been forwarded to the Allied Generals respecting the armistice. It is stated that Louis Napoleon has intimated to the Generals and Admirals in Paris that they probably need not return to their commands. Leave of absence was freely given to officers in the Crimea. The Allies were about to destroy the sunken ships in the harbor of Sebastopol, by dropping heavy shells, to explode under water.

Vienna advices state that Ismael Pasha succeeds Omer Pasha in the Asiatic command. Omer recently demanded from the Porte the appointment of Minister of War, and on its refusal, resigned.

Russia and the Allies, as well as Sweden, continue making active preparations for war. Sweden is to be fortified by land and sea, including the valley of Maalar.

From India, news was received of the formal annexation of the Kingdom of Oude.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

Friday, March 14, 1856.

SENATE.

Petitions were presented from merchants and importers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, asking a revision of the tariff.

Mr. Johnson reported in favor of printing 31,000 copies of the reports of the majority and minority of the Committee on Territories in the Kansas case, being 500 for each member.

Mr. Trumbull opposed the motion. He thought the minority report represented the Slavery question in a masterly manner, and its positions are unanswerable, but it does not enter into details as the majority report does. Hence, he was unwilling to send out, with the Senate's endorsement, a document containing so many unwarranted assumptions, erroneous deductions, and inconsistences, as the majority report. He proceeded to reply to some of the arguments of the latter.

At one o'clock, Mr. Trumbull was interrupted by Mr. Weller, who called for the special order, being the three million bill. Mr. Fessenden, who had the floor on the latter, said he was willing to let the Senator from Illinois proceed.

A discussion then ensued, as to the courtesy or propriety of interrupting a member while speaking, in order to make a motion to take up the special order.

Mr. Weller withdrew his motion.

The Chair announced that in future he should call up the special order when the hour arrived, without a motion.

Mr. Trumbull resumed his remarks, and proceeded to defend the Emigrant Aid Society, sustaining the positions of the minority report generally.

Mr. Wade asked Mr. Trumbull to yield the floor for an adjournment.

Mr. Douglas. I hope not. The courtesies of the Senate have been taken advantage of, on account of my known absence, to make an assault on me.

Mr. Trumbull. No, sir; I knew not whether you were present or absent; I was commenting on the report. I did not introduce the subject, nor know that it would come up to-day.

Mr. Douglas. My colleague dares to say, in face of fact, that he did not know I was absent. He acted with unfairness in attacking the report when I was detained from the Senate by ill health. I would ask him within what reasonable time will his speech be printed?

Mr. Trumbull. I think it will be published by Monday.

Mr. Douglas. If I can ask a postponement of the question until Monday, I will reply to my colleague's speech on Tuesday.

Mr. Seward. Take your own time.

Mr. Douglas, quickly. I understand that game—"take your own time." The Senator from Massachusetts took his own time to write and circulate a libel on me about the time the Nebraska bill was reported. I understand my colleague to say that he came here a Democrat. That will be news to the Democracy of Illinois, and is a libel on the Democracy of that State.

Mr. Crittenden here interposed, saying that the debate was transcending the rules of decorum. The Senator had charged a libel on Mr. Trumbull. [Sensation.]

Mr. Douglas. I should have been better satisfied if the Senator from Kentucky had, when the Black Republicans denounced us in coarse terms, rebuked them for want of courtesy.

Mr. Crittenden. To what do you allude?

Mr. Douglas. When they made vulgar, coarse, partisan assaults on the Democratic side of the Senate.

Mr. Crittenden. It was no more my business than that of others to call Senators to order for personalities. This is not the place for vituperation. It should be settled elsewhere.

Mr. Douglas. I do not regard the Senator as good authority in Illinois politics. I was speaking of events of which I am better capable of judging than he.

Further colloquy took place, when the Chair decided that Mr. Douglas's remarks were not personal.

Mr. Douglas said, that so far as he was advised and believed, his colleague was the candidate of the miserable sect of Abolitionists and Know Nothings, which are one and the same thing.

Mr. Crittenden. I wish the Senator to understand that I co-operate with the American party. Standing here as a gentleman and Senator, in absolute independence, and claiming all respect due to honesty, as a freeman I repel with scorn every imputation of that kind, as intended to embrace me and my political associates.

Mr. Douglas explained. I spoke of what Know Nothingism is in Illinois, and said it might be otherwise in the South. Every Know Nothing lodge in Illinois adopted the Abolition creed, and that is the miserable faction which sent my colleague here. The Senator from Kentucky misunderstood me, else he would not have conceived my remark as personal to him.

Mr. Crittenden. The gentleman did not make the qualification he now does.

Mr. Douglas. Every gentleman must have understood me as making the distinction. I said nothing about Southern Know Nothings.

Mr. Trumbull. I shall not permit such remarks as those from my colleague to pass unanswered. I shall suffer no man, here or elsewhere, to state of me things which are absolutely, totally unfounded. If he means to say that I am or ever have been a Know Nothing, or connected with any secret political organization, the charge is basely—I will not violate the rules of the Senate, but I will say—*untrue!*

He then proceeded to speak of the politics of Illinois, claiming that she is and always has been a Democratic State; and in the eighth Congressional district, which gave Mr. Pierce nearly five thousand majority, he (Mr. Trumbull,) was elected a member of the House by more than 2,600 majority. He ran as an Anti-Nebraska candidate. How did his colleague know that he received every Know Nothing and Abolition vote? He (Mr. Trumbull) did not know it.

Mr. Douglas. My colleague said the reason why he did not accept, at Salem, my proposition to resign our seats last year, to test by a re-election whether he or I represent Illinois was, that Governor Mattison would appoint me and another Democrat to fill the vacancies. I tell him I will sign my resignation now, to take effect at the next meeting of the Legislature.

Mr. Brown. That's right, Douglas.

Mr. Douglas. I'll give till Monday morning to think of it.

Mr. Weller. That's better.

Mr. Douglas. I said my colleague received every Abolition and Know Nothing vote in the Legislature. He did not deny that statement. Why equivocate?

In his further remarks, Mr. Douglas said that Mr. Trumbull had become the chief of Black Republicanism.

Mr. Trumbull. I ask my colleague to explain.

Mr. Douglas. Was not the gentleman voted for by Abolitionists and Know Nothings from all parts of the State?

Mr. Trumbull. I tell him no, to his teeth—I never was a candidate of the Abolition or Know Nothing party. I may have been voted for by members of the American party, and so with the gentleman—but, that I was their candidate, is not true.

The colloquy was further continued; after which,

Mr. Sumner replied to the remark of Mr. Douglas, that the former had obtained a week's delay of the Nebraska bill in order to circulate a libel on the latter. He said that was untrue. He united with other members in sending an address to the people of the United States, expressing the true character of that proposition, and predicting the many evils which have since ensued.

Mr. Douglas said that both Mr. Chase and Mr. Sumner, on the occasion referred to, came to his seat and asked him to postpone the Nebraska bill one week, in order to give them time to examine it. He did so, but the day after he discovered that they had written an exposition of that measure, and scattered it broadcast. It was a false statement that they had not had time to examine the bill of which Mr. Douglas complained. That address attributed to him to a base purpose of self-aggrandizement, and not a proper sense of public duty. The Senator from Massachusetts did not consider that libellous. Oh, no! This might accord with his ideas of a gentleman and Senator.

Mr. Sumner. I shall enter into no contest, here or elsewhere, as to the character of a gentleman. The Senate shall decide whether the Senator from Illinois is a proper judge of this matter. It is not true that I went to the Senator's seat to make the request to which he alludes.

Mr. Douglas repeated that Mr. Sumner, while pretending that he wanted time to read and examine the Nebraska bill, had previously franked a grossly libellous pamphlet on that subject.

Mr. Sumner said the address was predicated on the first bill, and not on the last.

Mr. Douglas remarked that the reasons assigned by Mr. Sumner, as an argument for the postponement of the Nebraska bill, were not true in fact.

Mr. Johnson's motion to print the reports was then adopted, and the Senate adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, argued in favor of the resolution empowering the Committee on Elections to send for persons and papers in the Kansas case. He said that Governor Reeder was removed because he would not be a slave and tool of the President, who had offered him a mission to China or Great Britain if he would resign the Governorship of Kansas.

Mr. Smith. I believe it to be a bold, unmitigated falsehood. It is unbecoming any member to repeat such newspaper statements.

Mr. Washburn. I believe every word of it. There are gentlemen here who can speak for the Executive.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia. Do I understand the gentleman to make such a charge?

Mr. Washburn. I have seen it in the newspapers—a correspondent made it, and dared the *Washington Union* to deny it—I dare the gentleman from Virginia to make such a denial.

Mr. Washburn then continued his remarks, argued that the committee must have plenary power in order to an impartial hearing, and an honest, intelligent judgment. He concluded by moving the previous question, which motion was disagreed to—yeas 78, nays 96.

Mr. Bennett, of Mississippi, contended that Governor Reeder sets up an extraordinary claim, without shadow of law or justice.

The House adjourned until Monday.

Monday, March 17, 1856.

SENATE.

Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill to authorize the people of the Territory of Kansas to form a Constitution and State Government, preparatory to their admission into the Union, when they may have the requisite population; which was read, and ordered to be printed.

The first section provides that whenever it shall appear, from the taking of the census, that there are 93,420 inhabitants in the Territory, they be authorized to hold a Convention and form a State Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatever.

Second. That the said Convention shall be composed of delegates from each Representative district within the limits of the proposed State; and that each district shall elect double the number of delegates to which it may be entitled to Representatives in the Territorial Legislature; and that at the said election of delegates all white male inhabitants, who shall have arrived at the age of twenty one years, and shall have been actual residents in said Territory for the period of six months, and in the district for the period of three months next preceding the day of election, and who shall possess the other qualifications required by the organic act of the Territory, shall be entitled to vote, and that none others shall be permitted to vote at said election.

Section three provides that certain propositions be offered to the said Convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, and, if accepted by the said Convention, and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution, shall be obligatory on the United States and the said Territory of Kansas.

1st. Relates to a grant of sections 16 and 36, in every township, for the use of schools, &c.

2d. Seventy-two sections of land shall be set apart for a State University, to be selected by the Governor, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, &c.

3d. That ten entire sections, to be selected by the Governor in legal subdivisions, shall be granted to said State for public buildings, to be erected under the authority of the Legislature.

4th. That all salt springs, not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections adjoining, be granted to said State, to be selected by the Governor within one year after her admission as a State, provided no right vested in any individual, or which may hereafter be confirmed or adjudged to any individual, shall be granted to said State.

5th. That five per cent. of the proceeds of all lands sold by Congress after said State is admitted, after deducting expenses incident to the same, shall be paid to that State, for purposes of internal improvement, as the Legislature may direct; that said State shall never interfere with the disposal of the soil by the United States, or with any regulation Congress may find necessary for securing the title in said soil to *bona fide* purchasers thereof; that no tax shall be imposed on lands belonging to the United States, and that in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

Mr. Clayton asked the Senate to indulge him by taking up the motion made some time ago, to refer the message of the President communicating a copy of the letter of Lord John Russell to Mr. Crampton, on the subject of the treaty of Washington of April 19, 1850, to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as he desired to offer some observations in reply to remarks made in the course of the debate; and the motion being taken up—

Mr. Clayton addressed the Senate at considerable length, touching Central American affairs and the disputed interpretation of the Clayton and Bulwer treaty. He spoke of the very great unanimity of opinion that prevailed here in relation to the American interpretation of the same, and maintained that the British construction was never heard of until the treaty was made. He did not conclude his remarks, the hour for taking up the special order having arrived, and the subject being laid on the table for the present, in order to allow him to resume them on some future occasion.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the fiscal year ending the 30th of June, 1856; and it was made the special order for Wednesday next.

The bill to increase the efficiency of the army of the United States was postponed, and made the special order for to-morrow.

Mr. Douglas gave notice that he would on Thursday next ask leave to open the debate on the bill reported by him this morning in relation to Kansas, in which he should take occasion to reply to some of the remarks of his colleague [Mr. Trumbull] on a former day.

The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill making an appropriation for deepening the channel over the St. Clair Flats, in the State of Michigan.

Mr. Cass having explained and advocated the bill, the yeas and nays were demanded on its passage, when it was decided, by yeas and nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bell of Tennessee, Bigler, Cass, Clayton, Collamer, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foster, Hamlin, Harlan, Jones of Iowa, Mallory, Pratt, Pugh, Sebastian, Seward, Slidell, Stuart, Sumner, Thomson of New Jersey, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, and Wilson—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Hunter, Iverson, Mason, Reid, and Toucey—8.

The bill making an appropriation for deepening the channel over the flats of the St. Mary's river, in the State of Michigan, was also passed.

The Senate then took up the bill to remove obstructions to navigation in the mouth of the Mississippi river, at the Southwest Pass and the Pass a l'Outre, on which the yeas and nays were also ordered, and, being taken, resulted as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bell of New Hampshire, Bell of Tennessee, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Cass, Crittenden, Dodge, Douglas, Durkee, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Jones of Iowa, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Rusk, Sebastian, Seward, Slidell, Stuart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Weller, and Wilson—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Clay, Iverson, and Mason—3.

The following bills were also considered and passed:

A bill for the improvement of the navigation of the Patapsco river, and to render the port of Baltimore accessible to the war steamers of the United States.

A bill for the improvement of the harbor of San Diego, in California.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of Executive business, and, after some time spent therein, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defence, and for repairs of barracks and quarters, for the year ending June 30, 1857; which was read twice, and committed.

The House then resumed the consideration of the resolution empowering the Committee of Elections, in the contested election case from the Territory of Kansas, to send for persons and papers, and to examine witnesses upon oath or affirmation.

Mr. Galloway, of Ohio, addressed the House in support of the resolution. He trusted that they should have an investigation of this whole subject. If the rights of the people of Kansas had been trampled upon, he wished the rascalities of those who had perpetrated the outrage to be exposed fully before the public, that the guilty parties might suffer punishment adequate to the crimes they had perpetrated upon the rights and interests of the people, and upon the peace of the country. He proceeded to show that the Territory of Kansas had been invaded by an armed force, and contended that the Legislature, having been elected by fraud, its acts were utterly void. The evils which are upon us, he attributed to the Kansas-Nebraska act, remarking that "unnatural deeds do breed unnatural troubles."

Mr. Valk, of New York, denied that any case had been presented that would authorize the House to confer upon the Committee of Elections the power they had asked of the House.

Mr. Robison, of Pennsylvania, urged the propriety of an investigation into the facts of the case.

Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, believed that almost every member was constrained to admit that the legal right belonged to the sitting member.

Mr. Millson, of Virginia, briefly replied to a portion of Mr. Galloway's argument, and, in conclusion, expressed his opposition to all the propositions before the House. As a most convenient mode of terminating the discussion, he moved that the whole subject be laid on the table. He, however, withdrew his motion at the earnest request of

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, who, preferring to proceed with his remarks in the morning, yielded the floor to

Mr. Simmons, of New York, who held that this was not a contested election. He looked upon the memorial of Gov. Reeder as a mere remonstrance by the people of Kansas, whose agent Gov. R. was, against the right of Gen. Whitfield to the seat of delegate from Kansas. He then cited various precedents to prove that the House, in deciding this case, had the power to inquire whether the laws of Kansas were in conformity with the organic act.

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, (Mr. Bennett, of Mississippi, having withdrawn his motion to recommit for the purpose,) then submitted a substitute for the substitute heretofore offered by Mr. Orr for the original resolution. The substitute of Mr. Dunn provides for a committee of three members of the House, to inquire into and collect evidence in regard to the troubles in Kansas generally, and particularly in regard to any fraud or force attempted to be practiced in reference to elections in that Territory.

Mr. Bennett then renewed his motion to recommit, and, at a quarter past four o'clock, the House adjourned.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

In the Senate, Mr. Houston spoke against the late United States naval reform bill.

In the House, after postponing until Tuesday next the special order, the Washington city election bill, the regular order of business, the further consideration of the resolution authorizing the Elections Committee to send for persons and papers in the Kansas case was proceeded with. Mr. Smith, of Virginia, spoke against the resolution.

NEWS.

Later from California, Oregon, and Central America.

New Orleans, March 12.—The steamer Prometheus arrived here to-day, from San Juan on the 5th. She brings San Francisco dates to the 20th of February.

Much indignation was felt at the appointment of Mr. McDuffie, a professional gambler, as Marshal of the Northern District. It is supposed that the President has been imposed upon, and strong petitions for his removal have been numerously signed.

Oregon.—The Indian troubles in Oregon and Washington still continued, and new volunteer companies are being raised.

The question on the adoption of a State Government for Oregon goes to the people, at a special election in April.

Central America.—Gen. Walker had seized all the boats of the Nicaragua Transit Company, annulled their charter, and granted a new charter to another company.

It is said that the Costa Rica authorities have refused to receive Col. Schlessinger, the Nicaraguan Envoy, on the ground that Costa Rica did not recognise the foreign party in Nicaragua.

Col. Kinney has published a letter in substantiation of his Central American claim.

Rhode Island Republican Nominations.

Providence, March 12.—The Republican State Nominating Convention, held in this city, nominated the following ticket:

For Governor—William W. Hoppin.
For Lieutenant Governor—Sylvester Robinson.
For Secretary of State—John R. Bartlett.
For Attorney General—Charles Hart.
For General Treasurer—Benjamin Mumford.

The ticket is the same as that nominated by the Americans, except the candidates for Lieutenant Governor and General Treasurer.

Departure of Filibusters from New Orleans.

New Orleans, March 12.—Two hundred filibusters, including Col. Parker H. French, left this port yesterday, in the Daniel Webster, to join General Walker at Nicaragua.

Later from Kansas—Organization of the Free State Legislature.

St. Louis, March 12.—The *Republican's* correspondent telegraphs from Kansas that the Free State Legislature met and organized at Topeka on the 4th instant. Governor Robinson's message is mostly devoted to a review of Kansas history. He says it is understood that the Deputy Marshal has been privately instructed to arrest the members of the Legislature and State officers for treason; but, if so, no resistance must be offered, not a finger raised against the Federal authority, till there is no hope but revolution. He calls for a military organization, to guard against the scalping-knife on the West, and the revolver on the East.

The Independence correspondent of the *Republican* telegraphs that the Free Legislature had adjourned to Lawrence, and was in session there on Saturday. Governor Shannon had gone there, to ascertain what was being done. Violence was apprehended.

There was some little excitement at the border. One hundred Sharpe's rifles and two cannon had been intercepted at Lexington, and held by the citizens, subject to Governor Shannon's order.

The News from Japan.

The following is the late news from Japan, as reported at San Francisco by Captain Meerhouse, of the schooner Page, from Simoda:

"On the 11th of November, at 10 o'clock P. M., a violent earthquake occurred at Jeddo, which destroyed one hundred thousand dwellings, fifty-four temples, and thirty thousand inhabitants. Fire broke out at the same time in thirty different parts of the city. The earth opened and closed over thousands of buildings with their occupants. The shock was severe at Simoda. Although the distance from Jeddo to Simoda is but sixty miles, it appears that no official account of the earthquake had been received at the latter place at the time of the sailing of the schooner Page, December 10. The news was obtained through the Dutch interpreter. The Japanese seemed to attach but little importance to the catastrophe. The inhabitants of the portion of the city destroyed were forewarned of the disaster, and many of them escaped. The buildings of Jeddo are chiefly of one story, and constructed of very light material. The temples of worship, however, are lofty, and in some instances are constructed of heavy masonry.

Central American Affairs.

Washington, March 15.—Information from official sources confirms the statement that an alliance has been formed between San Salvador Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras.

It is said that the alliance is complete, and that those States are now prepared to defend their own territory, as well as to assist their brethren in Nicaragua against Walker's Government. It is supposed that hostilities have already commenced.

It is also true that instructions have been issued, by several of the European Governments, to their squadrons in the Atlantic and Pacific, with reference to events in Central America.

Proposition to Divide Minnesota.

Chicago, March 5.—A memorial has been introduced into the Minnesota Legislature, desiring Congress to divide that Territory on the line of 45° 10′, from St. Croix to the Missouri river.

Meeting to Promote Emigration to Kansas.

Charleston, March 15.—A large meeting to promote emigration to Kansas was held last night. Addresses were delivered, and resolutions adopted declaring Slavery to be a political element of the Confederacy, inseparable from the present system of Government, and claiming a right to promote emigration to Kansas as private individuals, but disclaiming any State attempt at armed intervention in the affairs of Kansas. Committees were appointed to collect funds to further the cause.

Fatal Disaster.

Philadelphia, March 15—10 *P. M.*—At about half-past 9 o'clock this evening, the ferry-boat New Jersey, of the Philadelphia and Camden Ferry Company, in crossing the Delaware to Camden, took fire in the middle of the stream, and after great difficulty, in consequence of floating ice, was run upon a bar opposite Arch street. There were about one hundred passengers on board, many of whom jumped into the river and were rescued by boats after clinging to floating ice. It is feared that a great number were drowned and burnt. The boat was burnt to the water's edge. Steamers immediately went to the assistance of the ferry-boat, but the passengers in the water had been previously saved by the means of small boats.

Rhode Island Politics.

Providence, March 12.—The Republican State Convention nominated the same ticket to-day as the Americans for State officers, except that they substituted Sylvester Robinson for Lt. Governor, and Benj. Mumford for General Treasurer.

Connecticut Whig Convention.

New Haven, March 13.—The Whig State Convention of Connecticut met to-day, and nominated John A. Rockwell for Governor, Joshua M. Carter for Lieutenant Governor, J. H. Trumbull for Secretary of State, and Albert N. Baldwin for Comptroller.

Meeting of American Members of Congress.

Washington, March 14.—A meeting was held to-night by the American members of Congress, to deliberate as to what measures are best calculated to advance their interests in the present Presidential campaign.

Ohio Legislature.

Columbus, O., March 13.—The Legislature of Ohio has adopted a resolution to adjourn from the 9th of April till the first Monday of January, 1857.

Death of an Editor.

New York, March 14.—Dr. Thomas E. Bond, editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, died at his residence to-day, in this city, in his 76th year.

LATER FROM MEXICO.—*New Orleans, March* 12.—By the arrival of the steamer "Texas," at this port, from Vera Cruz, we have dates to the 8th inst.

Affairs remain comparatively quiet. Haro y Tamirez was still at Puebla, awaiting the arrival of the Government troops, eight thousand of whom were expected. In other places, the revolution was effectually crushed.

The Constituent Congress had elected Comonfort President for one year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.—*Concord, March* 13.—The state has been carried by the American Republicans. They will have a majority in the Legislature, and Governor Metcalf, if not chosen by the people, which is yet doubtful, will be by the House and Senate in convention, next June. It has been the most memorable contest ever waged in New Hampshire.

The American State Council of Rhode Island displays even more lukewarmness towards the action of the Philadelphia Convention than their Massachusetts neighbors, a resolution approving of the nominations and pledging the Council to support them having been laid on the table at a recent meeting, by the decisive vote of forty-five to nine.

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BOSTON, *August* 15.

DEAR SIR: Having been troubled for a long time with a bad Cough and Bronchial affection, I was induced to try a bottle of *Dr. Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry*, which, I am happy to say, entirely removed the difficulty. I deem it but justice to say thus much for the benefit of those who may be similarly afflicted.

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BOSTON, *August* 15.

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Practicing Physician.

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If genuine, signed I. BUTTS.

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SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Dubuque, Iowa, September 18.

DEAR DOCTOR: I intended, before leaving Washington City, last spring, to say to you in black and white, as I have frequently done *viva voce*, how highly I esteemed your *Oxygenated Bitters*, and that I have no doubt but that they will act as a certain, speedy, and agreeable cure of Dyspepsia, in any case, it matters not how obstinate. Your Bitters acted as a charm with my friends, Hon. A. C. Dodge, M. L. Martin, H. D. Foster, and others, as they did with myself.

Your obedient servant, GEO. W. JONES.
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Francis P. Blair's Letter to the Republican Association of Washington. 8 pages.
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address of the Republican Convention

CONVENED IN THE CITY OF PITTSBURGH,

On the 22d of February, 1856.

To the People of the United States:

Having met in Convention at the city of Pittsburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 22d day of February, 1856, as the representatives of the people in various sections of the Union, to consult upon the political evils by which the country is menaced, and the political action by which those evils may be averted, we address to you this Declaration of our Principles, and of the Purposes which we seek to promote.

We declare, in the first place, our fixed and unalterable devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to the ends for which it was established, and to the means which it provided for their attainment. We accept the solemn protestation of the People of the United States, that they ordained it, "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity." We believe that the powers which it confers upon the Government of the United States are ample for the accomplishment of these objects; and that if these powers are exercised in the spirit of the Constitution itself, they cannot lead to any other result. We respect those great rights which the Constitution declares to be inviolable, freedom of speech and of the Press, the free exercise of religious belief, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. We would preserve those great safeguards of civil freedom, the *habeas corpus*, the right of trial by Jury, and the right of personal liberty, unless deprived thereof for crime by due process of law. We declare our purpose to obey, in all things, the requirements of the Constitution, and of all laws enacted in pursuance thereof. We cherish a profound reverence for the wise and patriotic men by whom it was framed, and a lively sense of the blessings it has conferred upon our country, and upon mankind throughout the world. In every crisis of difficulty and of danger, we shall invoke its spirit, and proclaim the supremacy of its authority.

In the next place, we declare our ardent and unshaken attachment to this Union of American States, which the Constitution created, and has thus far preserved. We revere it as the purchase of the blood of our forefathers, as the condition of our national renown, and as the guardian and guarantee of that Liberty which the Constitution was designed to secure. We will defend and protect it against all its enemies. We will recognise no geographical divisions, no local interests, no narrow or sectional prejudices, in our endeavors to preserve the Union of these States against foreign aggression and domestic strife. What we claim for ourselves, we claim for all. The rights, privileges, and liberties, which we demand as our inheritance, we concede as their inheritance to all the citizens of this Republic.

Holding these opinions, and animated by these sentiments, we declare our conviction that the Government of the United States is not administered in accordance with the Constitution, or for the preservation and prosperity of the American Union; but that its powers are systematically wielded FOR THE PROMOTION AND EXTENSION OF THE INTEREST OF SLAVERY in direct hostility to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, in flagrant disregard of other great interests of the country, and in open contempt of the public sentiment of the American people and of the Christian world. We proclaim our belief that the policy which has for years past been adopted in the administration of the General Government, tends to the utter subversion of each of the great ends for which the Constitution was established; and that, unless it shall be arrested by the prompt interposition of the People, the hold of the Union upon their loyalty and affection will be relaxed, the domestic tranquillity will be disturbed, and all constitutional securities, for the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, will be destroyed. The slaveholding interest cannot be made permanently paramount in the General Government, without involving consequences fatal to free institutions. We acknowledge that it is large and powerful; that in the States where it exists, it is entitled, under the Constitution, like all other local interests, to immunity from the interference of the General Government, and that it must necessarily exercise, through its representatives, a considerable share of political power. But there is nothing in its position, as there is certainly nothing in its character, to sustain the supremacy which it seeks to establish. There is not a State in the Union in which the slaveholders number *one-tenth* part of the free white population—nor in the aggregate do they number *one-fiftieth* part of the white population of the United States. The annual productions of the other classes in the Union, far exceed the total value of all the slaves. To say nothing, therefore, of the questions of natural justice and of political economy which Slavery involves, neither its magnitude nor the number of those by whom it is represented entitle it to *one-tenth* part of the political powers conferred upon the Federal Government by the Constitution. Yet we see it seeking, and at this moment wielding, all the functions of Government—executive, legislative, and judicial—and using them for the augmentation of its powers and the establishment of its ascendency.

From this ascendency, the principles of the Constitution, the rights of the several States, the safety of the Union, and the welfare of the People of the United States, demand that it should be dislodged.

Historical Outline of the Progress of Slavery towards Ascendency in the Federal Government.

It is not necessary for us to rehearse in detail the successive steps by which the slaveholding interest has secured the influence it now exerts in the General Government. Close students of political events will readily trace the path of its ambition through the past twenty-five years of our national history.

It was under the Administration of President TYLER, and during the negotiation which preceded the annexation of Texas, that the Federal Administration for the first time declared, in its diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations, that Slavery in the United States was a "POLITICAL INSTITUTION, ESSENTIAL TO THE PEACE, SAFETY, AND PROSPERITY OF THOSE STATES OF THE UNION IN WHICH IT EXISTS;" and that the paramount motive of the American Government, in annexing Texas, was two-fold—*first*, to prevent the abolition of Slavery within its limits; and *secondly*, to render Slavery more secure and more powerful within the slaveholding States of the Union. Slavery was thus taken under the special care and protection of the Federal Government. It was no longer to be left as a State institution, to be controlled exclusively by the States themselves; it was to be defended by the General Government, not only against the invasion or insurrection of armed enemies, but against the moral sentiment of humanity, and the natural development of population and material power.

Thus was the whole current of our national history suddenly and unconstitutionally reversed. The General Government, abandoning the position it had always held, declared its purpose to protect and perpetuate what the great founders of our Republic had regarded as an evil—as at variance with the principles on which our institutions were based, and as a source of weakness, social and political, to the communities in which it existed. At the time of the Revolution, Slavery existed in all the colonies; but, neither then, nor for half a century afterwards, had it been an element of political strife, for there was no difference of opinion or of policy in regard to it. The tendency of affairs had been towards emancipation. Half the original thirteen States had taken measures, at an early day, to free themselves from the blighting influence and the reproach of Slavery. Virginia and North Carolina had anticipated the Continental Congress of 1774, in checking the increase of their slave population, by prohibiting the Slave Trade at any of their ports.

Sentiments of the Framers of the Constitution Concerning Slavery.

The Constitution, conferring upon Congress the power to prevent the increase of Slavery by prohibiting the Slave Trade, had, out of regard for existing interests and vested rights, postponed the exercise of that power over the States then existing until the year 1808—leaving Congress free to exercise it over new States and over the Territories of the United States, by prohibiting the migration or importation of slaves into them, without any restriction except such as its own discretion might supply. Congress promptly availed itself of this permission, by reaffirming that great Ordinance of the Confederation, by which it was ordained and decreed that all the territory then belonging to the United States should be forever free. Four new States were formed out of territory lying south of the Ohio river, and admitted into the Union, previous to 1820—but the territory from which they were formed had belonged to States in which Slavery existed at the time of their formation; and in ceding it to the General Government, or in assenting to the formation of new States within it, the old States to which it belonged had inserted a proviso against any regulation of Congress that should tend to the emancipation of slaves. Congress was thus prevented from prohibiting Slavery in these new States, by the action of the old States out of which they had been formed. But, as soon as the constitutional limitation upon its power over the States then existing had expired, Congress prohibited, by fearful penalties, the addition, by importation of a single slave, to the number already in the country.

The framers of the Constitution, although the historical record of their opinions proves that they were earnest and undivided in their dislike of Slavery, and in their conviction that it was hostile in its nature and its influences to Republican freedom, after taking these steps to prevent its increase, did not interfere with it further in the States where it then existed. Those States were separate communities, jealous of their sovereignty, and unwilling to enter into any league which should trench, in the least degree, upon their own control of their own affairs. This sentiment the framers of the Constitution were compelled, to respect; and they accordingly left Slavery as they left all other local interests, to the control of the several States. But no one who reads with care the debates and the recorded opinions of that age, can doubt that the ultimate removal of Slavery was desired by the People of the whole country, and that Congress had been empowered to prevent its increase, with a view to its gradual and ultimate extinction. Nor did the period of emancipation seem remote. Slave labor, employed as it was in agriculture, was less profitable than the free labor which was pouring in to take its place. And even in States where this consideration did not prevail, other influences tended to the same result. The spirit of Liberty was then young, generous, and strong. The men of the nation had made sacrifices and waged battles for the vindication of their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and it was not possible for them to sit down in the quiet enjoyment of blessings thus achieved, without feeling the injustice, as well as the inconvenience, of holding great numbers of their fellow-men in bondage. In all the States, therefore, there existed a strong tendency towards emancipation. The removal of so great an evil was felt to be a worthy object of ambition by the best and most sagacious statesmen of that age; and Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and all the great leaders and representatives of public opinion, were active and earnest in devising measures by which it could be accomplished.

But the great change produced in the industry of the Southern States, in the early part of the present century, by the increased culture of cotton, the introduction of new inventions to prepare it for use, and its growing importance to the commerce of the country and the labor of the world, by making slave labor more profitable than it had ever been before, checked this tendency towards emancipation, and soon put an end to it altogether. As the demand for cotton increased, the interests of the cotton-growing States became more and more connected with Slavery; the spirit of freedom gradually gave way before the spirit of gain; the sentiments and the language of the Southern States became changed; and all attempts at emancipation began to be regarded, and resisted, as assaults upon the rights and the interests of the slaveholding section of the Union. For many years, however, this change did not affect the political relations of the subject. States, both free and slaveholding, were successively added to the Confederacy, without exciting the fears of either section. Vermont came into the Union in 1791, with a Constitution excluding Slavery. Kentucky, formed out of Virginia, was admitted in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, Mississippi in 1817, and Alabama in 1819—all slave States, formed out of territory belonging to slave States, and having Slavery established in them at the time of their formation. On the other hand, Ohio was admitted in 1803, Indiana in 1816, and Illinois in 1818, having formed State Governments under acts of Congress which made it a fundamental condition, that their Constitutions should contain nothing repugnant to the Ordinance of 1787—or, in other words, that Slavery should be prohibited within their limits forever. In all these occurrences, as in the admission of Louisiana in 1812, there had been no contest between Freedom and Slavery, for it had not been generally felt that the interests of either were seriously involved.

The Missouri Compromise.

The first contest concerning the admission of a new State, which turned upon the question of Slavery, occurred in 1819, when Missouri, formed out of territory purchased from France in 1803, applied to Congress for admission to the Union as a slaveholding State. The application was strenuously resisted by the people of the free States. It was everywhere felt that the decision involved consequences of the last importance to the welfare of the country, and that, if the progress of Slavery was ever to be arrested, that was the time to arrest it. The slaveholding interest demanded its admission as a right, and denied the power of Congress to impose conditions upon new States applying to be admitted into the Confederacy. The power rested with the free States, and Missouri was denied admission. But the subject was reviewed. The slaveholding interest, with characteristic and timely sagacity, abated something of its pretensions, and settled the controversy on the basis of compromise. Missouri was admitted into the Union by an act bearing date March 6, 1820, in which it was also declared that "in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State of Missouri, SLAVERY AND INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, SHALL BE, AND IS HEREBY, FOREVER PROHIBITED." In each House of Congress, a majority of the members from the slaveholding States voted in favor of the bill with this provision—thus declaring and exercising, by their votes, the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit Slavery even in Territories where it had been permitted by the law of France, at the date of their cession to the United States. A new slave State, Arkansas, formed out of that portion of this Territory lying south of 36° 30′, to which the prohibition was not extended, was admitted to the Union in 1836. Two slave States thus came into the Confederacy by virtue of this arrangement; while Freedom gained nothing by it but the prohibition of Slavery from a vast region which civilization had made no attempt to penetrate.

Thus ended the first great contest of Freedom and Slavery for position and power in the General Government. The slaveholding interest had achieved a virtual victory. It secured all the immediate results for which it struggled; it acquired the power of offsetting, in the Federal Senate, two of the free States of the Confederacy; and the time could not be foreseen when, in the fulfillment of its compact, it would yield any positive and practical advantage to the interests of Freedom. Neither then, nor for many years thereafter, did any statesman dream that, when the period should arrive, the slaveholding interest would trample on its bond, and fling its faith to the winds.

A quarter of a century elapsed before the annexation of Texas. Slavery had been active, meantime, in fastening its hold upon the Government, in binding political parties to its chariot, and in seeking in Congress to stifle the right of petition, and to crush all freedom of speech and of the press. In every slaveholding State, none but slaveholders, or those whose interests are identified with Slavery, were admitted to fill any office, or exercise any authority, civil or political. Free whites, not slaveholders, in their presence, or in the midst of their society, were reduced to a vassalage little less degrading than that of the slaves themselves. Even at this day, although the white population of the slaveholding States is more than six millions, of whom but 347,525, or less than *one-seventeenth*, are the owners of slaves, none but a slaveholder, or one who will act with exclusive reference to Slavery, is ever allowed to represent the State in any National Convention, in either branch of Congress, or in any high position of civil trust and political power. The slaveholding class, small as it is, is the governing class, and shapes legislation and guides all public action for the advancement of its own interests and the promotion of its own ends. During all that time, and from that time even to the present, all slaveholding delegates in National Conventions, upon whatever else they may differ, always concur in imposing upon the Convention assent to their requisitions in regard to Slavery, as the indispensable condition of their support. Holding thus in their hands power to decide the result of the election, and using that power, undeviatingly and sternly, for the extortion of their demands, they have always been able to control the nominations of both parties, and thus, whatever may be the issue, to secure a President who is sure to be the instrument of their behests. Thus has it come to pass that, for twenty years, we have never had a President who would appoint to the humblest office within his gift, in any section of the Union, any man known to hold opinions hostile to Slavery, or to be active in resisting its aggressions and usurpations of power. Men, the most upright and the most respectable, in States where Slavery is only known by name, have been ineligible to the smallest trust—have been held unfit to distribute letters from the Federal post office to their neighbors, or trim the lamps of a lighthouse upon the remotest point of our extended coast. Millions of our citizens have been thus disfranchised for their opinions concerning Slavery, and the vast patronage of the General Government has been systematically wielded in its service, and for the promotion of its designs.

It was by such a discipline, and under such influences, that the Government and the country were prepared for the second great stride of Slavery towards new dominion, and for the avowal of motives by which it was attended.

Annexation of Texas and the War with Mexico.

Texas was admitted into the Union on the 29th of December, 1845, with a Constitution forbidding the abolition of Slavery, and a stipulation that *four more* States should become members of the Confederacy, whenever they might be formed within her limits, and with or without Slavery, as their inhabitants might decide. The General Government then made virtual provision for the addition of *five* new slave States to the Union—practically securing to the slaveholding interest ten additional members in the Senate—representing States, it might be, with less than a million inhabitants, and out-voting five of the old States, with an aggregate population of eleven millions. The corrupt and tyrannical Kings of England, when votes were needed in the House of Lords to sustain them against the people, created Peers as the emergency required. Is there in this anything in more flagrant contradiction to the principles of Republican Freedom, or more dangerous to the public liberties, than in the system practiced by the slaveholding interest represented in the General Government?

But a third opportunity was close at hand, and Slavery made a third struggle for the extension of its domain and the enlargement of its power.

The annexation of Texas involved us in war with Mexico. The war was waged on our part with vigor, skill, and success. It resulted in the cession to the United States of New Mexico, California, and Deseret, vast territories over which was extended by Mexican law a prohibition of Slavery. The slaveholders demanded access to them all, resisted the admission of California and New Mexico, which the energy of freemen, outstripping in its activity the Government, and even the slaveholding interest, had already converted into free States, and treasonably menaced Congress and the Union with overthrow, if its demands were not conceded. The free spirit of the country was roused with indignation by these pretensions, and for a time the whole nation roused to the tempest which they had created. Untoward events aided the wrong. The death of the President threw the whole power of the Administration into timid and faithless hands. Party resentments and party ambitions interposed against the right. Great men, leaders of the people, from whom, in better days, the people had learned lessons of principles and patriotism, yielded to the howlings of the storm, and sought shelter, in submission, from its rage. The slaveholding interest was again victorious. California, with her free Constitution, was indeed admitted into the Union; but New Mexico, with her Constitution forbidding Slavery within her borders, was denied admission, and remanded to the condition of a Territory; and while Congress refused to enact a positive prohibition of Slavery in the Territories of New Mexico and Deseret, it was provided that, when they should apply for admission as States, they should come in with or without Slavery, as their inhabitants might decide. Additional concessions were made to the Slave Power—the General Government assumed the recapture of fugitive slaves, and passed laws for the accomplishment of that end, subversive at once of State sovereignty, and of the established safeguards of civil freedom. Then the country again had rest. Wearied with its efforts, or content with their success, the slaveholding interest proclaimed a truce.

When Franklin Pierce, on the 4th of March, 1853, became President of the United States, no controversy growing out of Slavery was agitating the country. Established laws, some of them enacted with unusual solemnity, and under circumstances which made them of more than ordinary obligation, had fixed the character of all the States, and ended the contest concerning the Territories. Sixteen States were free States, and fifteen States were slave States. By the Missouri Compromise of 1820, Slavery was forever prohibited from all the Louisiana Territory lying north of the line of 36° 30′; while over that Territory lying south of that line, and over the Territories of New Mexico and Deseret, no such prohibition had been extended. The whole country reposed upon this arrangement. All sections and all interests, whether approving it or not, seemed to acquiesce in its terms. The slaveholding interest, through all its organs, and especially through the General Government, proclaimed that this was a final and irrepealable adjustment of the struggle between Freedom and Slavery for political power; that it had been effected by mutual concessions, and in the spirit of compromise; and that it should be as enduring as the Union, and as sacred as the Constitution itself. Both political parties gave it their sanction in their National Conventions; the whole country assented to its validity; and President Pierce, in his first official message to Congress, pledged himself to use all the power of his position to prevent it from being disturbed.

But all these protestations proved delusive, and the acquiescence and contentment which they produced afforded the opportunity, not only for new aggressions on the part of Slavery, but for the repudiation of engagements into which its agents had solemnly entered. Less than a year had elapsed before these pledges were broken, and the advantages which they secured to Freedom withdrawn by the slaveholding power.

Repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

In the course of time and the natural progress of population, that portion of the Louisiana Territory lying west of the Mississippi river, and north of the line of 36° 30′, came to be desired for occupation; and on the 24th of May, 1854, an act was passed erecting upon it the two Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and organizing Governments for them both. From this whole region, the slaveholding interest, thirty-four years before, had agreed that "Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, should be forever prohibited," and had received, as the price of this agreement, the admission of Missouri, and, subsequently, the admission of Arkansas, into the Union. By the Kansas and Nebraska bill, this prohibition was declared to be "*inoperative and void;*" and the intent and meaning of the bill was further declared to be, "*not to legislate Slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom*, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Thus, without a single petition for such action from any quarter of the Union, but against the earnest remonstrances of thousands of our citizens, against the settled and profound convictions of the great body of the People in every portion of the country, and in wanton disregard of the obligations of justice and of good faith, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was repealed, and the seal which had guarantied Freedom to that vast Territory which the United States had purchased from France was snatched from the bond. Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, Deseret, and the new State acquired from Texas north of 36° 30′, by compact, were all opened up to Slavery, and those who might first become the inhabitants thereof were authorized to make laws for its establishment and perpetuation.

The Invasion of Kansas and Action of the General Government.

Nor did the slaveholding interest stop here in its crusade of injustice and wrong. The first election of members for the Territorial Legislature of Kansas was fixed for the 30th of March, 1855, and the law of Congress prescribed that at that election none but "actual residents of the Territory" should be allowed to vote. Yet, to prevent people of the Territory themselves from exercising the right to prohibit Slavery, which the act of Congress had conferred upon them, the slaveholding interest sent armed bands of men from the neighboring State of Missouri, who entered the Territory on the day of election, took possession of the polls, excluded the legal voters, and proceeded themselves to elect members of the Legislature, without the slightest regard to the qualifications prescribed by law. The judges of election, appointed under authority of the Administration at Washington, aided and abetted in the perpetration of the outrages upon the rights of the people of Kansas, and the President of the United States removed from office the Governor whom he had himself appointed, but who refused to acknowledge the Legislature which the slaveholding invaders from Missouri had thus imposed upon the Territory.

That Legislature met on the 2d of July, 1855. Its first act was to exclude those members, duly elected, who would not consent to the enactment of laws for the admission of Slavery into the Territory. Having thus silenced all opposition to its behests, the Legislature proceeded to the enactment of laws for the government of Kansas upon the subject of Slavery. The laws of Missouri in regard to it were at first extended over the Territory. It was then enacted, that every person who should raise an insurrection or rebellion of negroes in the Territory; every person who should entice away a slave, with intent to procure his freedom; every person who should aid or assist in so enticing away a slave within the Territory; and every person who should entice or carry away a slave from any other State or Territory of the Union, and bring him within the Territory of Kansas, with the intent to effect or procure his freedom, upon the conviction thereof should suffer DEATH. It was further enacted, that if any person should write, print, or publish, any book, paper, argument, opinion, advice, or innuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in the Territory, or to induce them to escape from their masters, he should be deemed guilty of a FELONY, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than FIVE YEARS; and that if any free person, by speaking or writing, should assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in that Territory; or should introduce or circulate any book, paper, pamphlet, or circular, containing any such denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in that Territory, he should be deemed guilty of felony, and be punished by IMPRISONMENT at hard labor for a term not less than TWO YEARS. It was still further enacted, by the same Legislature, that every free white male citizen of the United States, and inhabitant of the Territory, who should pay a tax of one dollar, and take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the act organizing the Territory of Kansas, the Territorial law, and the act for the recapture of fugitive slaves, should be entitled to vote at any election in said Territory—thus making citizens of Missouri, or of any other State, legal voters in Kansas, upon their presentation at the polls, upon taking the oaths prescribed, and upon payment of one dollar—in direct violation of the spirit of the act of Congress, and in open disregard of the rights of the people of the Territory. And having made these enactments for the establishment of Slavery, the Legislature appointed Sheriffs, Judges, and other officers of the Territory, for their enforcement—thus depriving the people of all power over the enactment of their own laws, and the choice of officers for their execution.

That these despotic acts, even if they had been passed by a Legislature duly elected by the people of the Territory, would have been null and void, inasmuch as they are plainly in violation of the Federal Constitution, is too clear for argument. Congress itself is expressly forbidden by the Constitution of the United States to make any laws abridging the freedom of speech and of the press; and it is absurd to suppose that a Territorial Legislature, deriving all its power from Congress, should not be subject to the same restrictions. But these laws were not enacted by the people of Kansas. They were imposed upon them by an armed force. Yet the President of the United States, in a special message sent to Congress on the 24th of January, 1856, declares that they have been enacted by the duly-constituted authorities of the Territory, and that they are of binding obligation upon the people thereof. And on the 12th of February, 1856, he issued his Proclamation, denouncing any attempt to resist or subvert these barbarous and void enactments, and warning all persons engaged in such attempts, that they will be opposed, not only by the local militia, but by any available forces belonging to the regular army of the United States. Thus has the Federal Government solemnly recognised the usurpation set up in Kansas by invaders from Missouri, and pledged all the power of the United States to its support. American history furnishes no parallel to the cruelty and tyranny of these acts of the present Administration. The expulsion of aliens, and the penalties inflicted upon citizens for exercising freedom of speech and of the press, under the alien and sedition laws, which were overthrown by the Republican party of 1798, were lenient and mild when compared with the outrages perpetrated upon the people of Kansas, under color of law, by the usurping invaders sustained by the Federal Government.

With a full sense of the importance of the declaration, we affirm that the execution of these threats by the President of the United States, upon the people of Kansas, would be an unconstitutional exercise of Executive power, presenting a case of intolerable tyranny; that American citizens cannot submit to it, and remain free; and that if blood shall be shed in the prosecution of so unlawful a purpose, those by whose agency it may be spilt will be held to a strict and stern account by the freemen of the Republic. So plain, palpable, and deliberate a violation of the Constitution, would justify the interposition of the States, whose duty it would be, by all the constitutional means in their power, to vindicate the rights and liberties of the citizen against the power of the Federal Government; and we take this occasion to express to our fellow-citizens in Kansas, against whom these unconstitutional acts are directed, our profound sympathy with them in the resistance which it is their right and their duty to make to them, and our determination to make that sympathy efficient by all the means which we may lawfully employ.

Thus, for a period of twenty-five years, has Slavery been contending, under various pretexts, but with constant success, against the tendencies of civilization and the spirit of our institutions, for the extension and perpetuation of its power. The degree in which the General Government has aided its efforts may be traced in the successive steps it has taken. In 1787, all the States in the Confederacy united in ordaining that Slavery should be forever prohibited from all the territory belonging to the United States. In 1789, the first Congress of the United States passed a law reaffirming this ordinance, and re-enacting the prohibition of Slavery which it contained. In 1820, the slaveholding interest secured the admission of Missouri, as a slave State, into the Union, by acceding to a similar prohibition of Slavery from the Louisiana Territory lying north of 36° 30′. In 1854, that prohibition was repealed, and the people of the Territory were left free to admit or exclude Slavery, in their own discretion. In 1856, the General Government proclaims its determination to use all the power of the United States to enforce upon the people obedience to laws imposed upon them by armed invaders, establishing Slavery, and visiting with terrible penalties their exercise of freedom of speech and of the press upon that subject. While two-thirds of the American people live in States where Slavery is forbidden by law, and while five-sixths of the capital, enterprise, and productive industry of the country rests upon Freedom as their basis, Slavery thus controls all departments of their common Government, and wields their powers on its own behalf.

The Pleas Urged in Defence of these Aggressions of Slavery.

As a matter of course, for all these acts, and for all the outrages by which they have been attended, the slaveholding interest pretends to find a warrant in the Constitution of the United States. All usurpation, in countries professing to be free, must have the color of law for its support. No outrage, committed by Power upon Popular Rights, is left without some attempt at vindication. The partition of Poland, the overthrow of the Constitution of Hungary, the destruction of Irish Independence, like the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the conquest of Kansas, were consummated with a scrupulous observance of the forms of law.

The Plea that the Missouri Compromise was not a Compact.

I. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it is urged on behalf of those by whom it was effected, involved no violation of good faith, because that Compromise was merely an act of Congress, and as such repealable at pleasure. Regarded as a legal technicality, we are not disposed to contest this plea. The Compromise was undoubtedly embodied in a Congressional enactment, subject to repeal. But in this case, by the very nature of the transaction, the faith of the parties was pledged that this enactment *should not be* repealed. The spirit of the law, whatever its form, was the spirit of a compact. Its enactment was secured by an exchange of equivalents. The slaveholding interest procured the admission of Missouri into the Union, by consenting and voting, through its Representatives in Congress, that north of its southern line, in the Territory of Louisiana, Slavery should be prohibited *forever*. Without that consent and that vote, the admission of Missouri could not have been secured; nor would the prohibition of Slavery until 1854, or until any other date, or for any other time than that specified in the act—namely, *forever*—have purchased the assent of the free States to the admission of Missouri as a slave State into the Union. The word *forever*, therefore, was a part of the law, and of the consideration for its enactment. Such a law may be repealed; but its repeal is the rupture of a compact—the repudiation of a solemn covenant. The Missouri Compromise has been regarded as such a compact, from the date of its enactment, in all sections and by all the people of the country. Successive Presidents have invoked for it a respect and an obligation scarcely inferior to that of the Constitution itself; and Senator Douglas himself, as late as 1845, declared that it had been "canonized in the hearts of the American people, as a sacred thing, which no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb." Whatever, therefore, the mere form of the bond may have permitted, good faith on the part of the representatives of the slaveholding interest required that it should be kept inviolate.

II. Nor is this charge of bad faith, brought against the slaveholding interest, for having repealed the Missouri Compromise, answered or evaded by the pleas argued in its defence, that originally it was forcibly imposed by the free States upon the slave States, without their consent; that it was subsequently violated by the free States, in their refusal to extend its provisions over New Mexico and Utah; or that its repeal, having been offered by the free States themselves, could not be resisted or refused by the representatives of Slavery. (1.) Even if it were true that the prohibition of Slavery north of 36° 30′ was originally enacted by the free States, against the votes of the South, the fact that the admission of Missouri was accepted as the price of that prohibition would have made the slaveholding interest a party to the transaction, assenting to its terms, and bound by its obligations. But the fact is not so. The act of March 6, 1820, which admitted Missouri, and prohibited Slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′, received in the Senate the votes of *fourteen* members from slaveholding States, while only *eight* were cast against it; and in the House of Representatives, *thirty-eight* members from the slave States voted for it, and *thirty-seven* against it. A majority of the votes from slaveholding States, in each branch of Congress, were thus given for the bill; and so far were the representatives of Slavery from regarding it as having been forced upon them, that Charles Pinckney, one of their greatest and ablest leaders, declared, on the night of its passage, that "*it was regarded in the slaveholding States as a triumph.*" (2.) Still more absurd is it to say that the refusal of the North to extend the provisions of the Compromise over other regions, was a violation of its terms, or in any way released the parties to it from their obligation to abide by its requirements. (3.) It is true that the ostensible author of the proposition to repeal it was a Senator from a free State; but that fact does not authorize the inference that the sentiment of the free States was justly and truly represented by his action. There was, indeed, no room to doubt that it was condemned by the unanimous voice of the free States, and that it would be regarded by them, and by the country at large, as a very gross and wanton violation of obligations which had been voluntarily assumed. No matter from what geographical quarter of the Union it came, it was brought forward in the interest and on behalf of the slaveholders. This, indeed, is among the worst of the effects of Slavery, and among the most signal proofs of its ascendency, that able and ambitious men should enlist in its service, and volunteer to perform offices on its behalf which its representatives would scorn to perform themselves—from the conviction that by that path the honors and dignities of the General Government are to be secured. The slaveholding interest owed it to honor and good faith to resist the temptations which such men might hold out for the repudiation of its obligations.

The Plea that Congress has no Power to Prohibit Slavery in the Territories.

III. But it is urged that the original enactment of the Missouri Compromise, by which Slavery was prohibited from entering a portion of the territory of the United States, was a violation of the Constitution; that Congress has no rightful power to make such a prohibition; but that into any territory over which the Constitution is extended, the slaveholder has a right, by virtue of its provisions, to take his slaves.

In reply to this, we answer:

First—That, whether the plea be true or false, it comes too late; that the slaveholding interest conceded the constitutionality of the prohibition, by assenting to its enactment, and aiding it by the votes of its representatives.

Second—That, if the plea were true, the enactment was null and void, by reason of its unconstitutionality, and its repeal, therefore, was a needless ostentation of bad faith; and

Third—That the plea is not true, but is directly contrary to the plain letter as well as to the spirit of the Constitution, and to the uniform practice of the Government from its foundation.

The Constitution declares that "the Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territories or other property belonging to the United States." This language is very plain and very broad. It imposes no limitation upon the power of Congress to make rules and regulations respecting the Territories, except that they shall be such as are "needful;" and this, of course, it lies in the discretion of Congress to determine. It assumes that power to legislate for the Territories, which are the common property of the Union, must exist somewhere; and also that it may most justly, and most safely, be placed in the common Government of the Union. The authority of Congress over the Territories is therefore without any other limit than such as its judgment of what is "needful," of what will best promote their welfare, and that of the whole country to which they belong, may impose. If Congress, therefore, deem it expedient to make a rule and regulation which shall prohibit Slavery from any Territory, we find nothing in the Constitution which removes such a prohibition from the sphere of its authority. The power of Congress over the Territories of the United States is as complete and as full as that possessed by any State Legislature over territory belonging to that State; and if the latter may prohibit Slavery within its territory, so may the former also.

It has been urged, we are aware, that the rules and regulations which Congress is authorized to make respecting the Territories are restricted to them regarded as property; and that this clause of the Constitution confers no governmental power over them whatever. But this cannot be so, because it is under this clause that Congress does govern the Territories—that it organises their Governments, and provides for their ultimate admission as States. There is no other clause of the Constitution from which this power of government can be inferred; as it unquestionably exists, therefore, it must rest upon this provision. But from whatever source it may be derived, the authority to govern necessarily implies the right to decide what policy and what laws will best promote the welfare of those on whose behalf that authority is exercised. If Congress, therefore, believes that the well-being of the Territories and of the country at large will be promoted by excluding Slavery from them, it has, beyond all question, the right thus to prohibit and exclude it.

This view of the authority of Congress over the Territories of the United States is sustained by other clauses of the Constitution. In the ninth section of the first article, it is declared that "the migration or importation of such persons as any of States *now existing* may think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808." This is not a grant of power. On the contrary, it is a restriction imposed upon power assumed to exist. The language of the clause takes it for granted that Congress had power to prohibit the migration and the importation of slaves—a power doubtless conferred by the authority "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States;" for, whether slaves are to be regarded as persons or as property, commerce of necessity relates to both. This clause of the Constitution, therefore, imposes upon the authority of Congress to prohibit the migration or importation of slaves a specific and a limited restriction—namely, that this power should not be exercised over any of the States *then existing*, prior to the year 1808. Over any State *not* then existing, and, by still stronger implication, over any *Territories* of the United States, the exercise of its authority was unrestricted; and it might prohibit the migration or importation of slaves into them, at any time, in its own discretion.

Nor do any considerations connected with alleged rights of property in slaves contravene the existence or the exercise of this authority. The Constitution does not recognise slaves as property, in any instance, or to any extent. In the clause already cited, they are called "persons." In the clause respecting their escape into other States, they are to be returned, not as property, but as "persons held to service or labor." And in the apportionment of representation and of direct taxes, it is provided by the Constitution that to the whole number of free persons are to be added three-fifths of all other "persons." In all its provisions which have reference to slaves, they are described and regarded as persons. The idea of their being property is carefully and intentionally excluded. If they are property at all, therefore, it is not by virtue of the Constitution, but of local laws, and only within their jurisdiction. The local laws of any State are excluded from the Territories of the United States, by the necessity of the case as well as by the exclusive sovereignty conferred upon Congress.

The Plea of Popular Sovereignty.

Failing thus to establish the right of the slaveholder to carry his slaves as property, by virtue of the Constitution, into territory belonging to the United States, the slaveholding interest has been compelled to claim, for the inhabitants of the Territories themselves, the right to provide for excluding or admitting Slavery, as a right inherent in their sovereignty over their own affairs. This principle of popular sovereignty, as it is styled, was embodied in the bills for organizing New Mexico and Utah, and is made the substitute for the prohibition of Slavery in the Missouri Compromise, which it repealed; and the slaveholding interest is now sustained by the Federal Government in this new position, as it has been in all the positions it has successively assumed. The principle of popular sovereignty is fundamental in our institutions. No one doubts that the people are sovereign over all the Territories, as well as over all the States of the Confederacy. But this sovereignty is subject to limitation and definition, and can only exist within the limitations of the Constitution. The People are sovereign in the House of Representatives; but their sovereignty may be overruled by the Senate, or defeated by the veto of the President. The States are sovereign; but only within certain limits, and in subordination to the sovereignty of the nation. Two sovereignties over the same country, and on the same subject, it is manifest, cannot co-exist; one must of necessity exclude the other. But the Constitution, in express and unmistakable terms, makes Congress sovereign over the Territories, by conferring upon it power to make "*all* needful rules and regulations respecting them." The doctrine of popular sovereignty in the people of the Territories finds no warrant or support in the Constitution. In the language of Mr. Calhoun, "it involves an absurdity; if the sovereignty over the Territories be in their inhabitants, instead of the United States, they would cease to be Territories of the United States the moment we permit them to be inhabited." So long as they remain Territories, they are the possession and under the exclusive dominion of the United States; and it is for the General Government to make such laws for them as their welfare, and that of the nation, may require.

We deny that Congress may abdicate a portion of its authority, and commit to the inhabitants of a Territory power conferred upon it by the Constitution. Such an abdication is an abandonment of duty, and cannot be justified on the pretended principle of popular sovereignty. That principle, indeed, is discarded in the very act of Congress in which it is claimed to be embodied. If sovereignty exists, it must be exercised through the organized departments of Government—the legislative, executive, and judicial. But the act to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska prescribes the requisites of citizenship and the qualifications of voters, confers upon the President and Senate the appointment of a Governor, who is clothed with the veto power, and of judges by whom the common law shall be interpreted. Each department of the Government thus rests virtually in the power of the President of the United States. To style the small remnant of power which such a law leaves to the people "popular sovereignty," is an abuse of language, and an insult to common sense. Yet even this has been effectually destroyed, by the invasion of armed men, sustained by the General Government in their high-handed endeavor to force Slavery into Kansas, against the will of the hardy settlers who have made it their home.

This whole system of doctrine by which Slavery seeks possession of the Territories of the United States, either by asserting the sovereignty of their inhabitants, or by denying the power of Congress to exclude and prohibit Slavery from them, is novel and alien to the principles and the administration of our Government. Congress has always asserted and exercised the right of prohibition. It was exercised by the vote of the First Congress, in 1789, reaffirming the ordinance of the old Confederacy by which Slavery was prohibited from the Territory northwest of the Ohio river. It was exercised in 1820, in the prohibition of Slavery from the Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30′. It was exercised in 1848, when Slavery was prohibited from the Territory of Oregon.

Nor is it in the least degree impaired by the argument that these Territories, when they become States, and are admitted into the Union, can establish or prohibit Slavery, in their discretion. Their rights as States do not begin until their obligations as Territories end. The Constitution knows nothing of "inchoate States." Congress has power to make "all needful rules and regulations" for them as Territories, until they are admitted into the Union as members of the common Confederacy.

General Tendency of Federal Legislation on the Subject of Slavery.

In all these successive acts, in the admission of Missouri and of Arkansas, in the annexation of Texas and the provision for admitting four new States from her territory, in the war with Mexico and the conquest of her provinces, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in the cruel war now waged against the people of Kansas for the extension of Slavery into that Territory, we trace the footsteps of a powerful interest, aiming at absolute political power, and striding onward to a complete ascendency over the General Government. It finds powerful allies, and an open field in the political arena, for the prosecution of its purposes. Always acting as a compact unit, it finds its opponents divided by a variety of interests. Partisan alliances and personal ambitions have hitherto prevented any union against its aggressions; and not feeling or fearing the displeasure of their constituents, Representatives from the free States have been induced to aid in the promotion of its designs. All other interests have been compelled to give way before it. The representatives of Freedom on the floors of Congress have been treated with contumely, if they resist or question the right to supremacy of the slaveholding class. The labor and the commerce of sections where Slavery does not exist obtain tardy and inadequate recognition from the General Government, which is swayed by its influence, and for the accomplishment of its ends. The Executive of the nation is the willing servant of its behests, and sacrifices to its favor the rights and the interests of the country. The purse and the sword of the nation are at its command. A hundred millions of dollars were expended in the annexation of Texas, and the war with Mexico, which was a part of its price. Two hundred millions have been offered for Cuba, and war with all Europe is threatened, if necessary, to prevent the emancipation of its slaves. Thus is the decision of great questions of public policy, touching vast interests and vital rights—questions even of peace and of war—made to turn, not upon the requirements of justice and honor, but upon its relation to the subject of Slavery—upon the effect it will have upon the interest of the slaveholding class.

The people of the free States have cherished the hope that the efforts made to extend Slavery, which have fallen under their notice, were accidental, and indicative of weakness rather than ambition. They have trusted that the sagacious statesmen of the slaveholding States would gradually perceive and acknowledge the inconvenience and danger of Slavery, and would take such measures as they might deem wise and safe, for its ultimate removal. They have feared the effect of agitation upon this subject, relied upon the good faith and honor of the slaveholding States, and believed that time, the natural growth of population, and the recognised laws of political and social economy, would gradually and peacefully work out the extinction of a system so repugnant to justice and the national character and welfare. It has seemed to them incredible, that in this late age, when Christianity has for near two thousand years been filling the world with its light, and when almost every nation on earth but our own has abolished chattel slavery, the effort should be made, or the wish cherished, by any portion of our people, to make the interest of Slavery predominant, and to convert this Republic, the only Government which professes to be founded upon human rights, into the mightiest slave empire the world has ever seen. But it is impossible to deceive ourselves longer. The events of the past two years have disclosed the designs of the slave power, and the desperate means it is prepared to use for their accomplishment. We cannot shut our eyes longer to the fact that the slaveholding interest is determined to counteract the tendencies of time and of civilization, by its own energy, by its bold appropriation of all the powers and agencies of the Government, and by the violation, if need be, of the most sacred compacts and compromises. It is resolved that Slavery shall be under the protection of the national flag—that it shall no longer be the creature of local law, but that it shall stand clothed with all the sanctions, and sustained by all the power of this great Republic. It is determined that the President shall do its bidding, and that Congress shall legislate according to its decrees. It is resolved upon the dethronement of the principles of Republicanism, and the establishment, in their stead, of an OLIGARCHY, bound together by a common interest in the ownership of slaves.

Nor have we any reason to believe that Slavery will be content with this absolute supremacy over the Federal Government, which it has already so well-nigh achieved. On the contrary, the dark shadow of its sceptre falls upon the sovereignty of the several States, and menaces them with dire disaster. South Carolina, abandoning her once-cherished doctrine of State Rights, asserts the Federal supremacy over laws made by States, exclusively for the protection of their citizens. The State of Virginia is contesting, in courts of law, the right of the State of New York to forbid the existence of Slavery within her limits. A Federal Court in Pennsylvania has denied the right of that State to decree freedom to slaves brought by their masters within her borders, and has proclaimed that Slavery exists by the law of nations. The division of California, and the organization of a slave State within her limits, have been proposed. A Senator on the floor of Congress has urged that the Government of the United States should no longer restrain, by its naval power, the African slave trade, and the demand for its restoration is openly made by Southern journals and by leading public men in the Southern States.

When these great objects shall have been accomplished—when the States, as well as the General Government, shall have become subject to the law of Slavery, and when three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders shall hold despotic rule over the millions of this Republic, Slavery cannot fail, from the necessity of its nature, to attempt outrages which will awaken storms that will sweep it in carnage from the face of the earth. The longer tyranny is practiced unresisted, the fiercer and the more dreadful is the resistance which in the end it provokes. History is full of instances to prove that nothing is so dangerous as a wrong long unredressed—that evils, which at the outset it would have been easy to remove, by sufferance become fatal to those through whose indifference and toleration they have increased. The tendency of the measures adopted by the slaveholding interest to secure its own extension, through the action of the Federal Government, is to give to Congress jurisdiction of the general subject; and its representatives must be sagacious enough to perceive, that if they establish the principle that Congress may interfere with Slavery for its protection, it may interfere with it also for its destruction. If, therefore, they succeed in such an enlargement of the power of Congress—having already discarded the principle of compromise from legislation—they must foresee that the natural effect of their encroachments upon the rights and liberties of the non-slaveholding population of the country will be to arouse them to the direct exercise of the power thus placed in their hands. Whether it is safe or wise for that interest to invite such a contest, we need not here consider.

The time draws nigh, fellow-countrymen, when you will be called upon to decide upon the policy and the principles of the General Government. Your votes at the approaching Presidential election will determine whether Slavery shall continue to be the paramount and controlling influence in the Federal Administration, or whether other rights and other interests shall resume the degree of consideration to which they are entitled. The issue is upon us by no act of ours, and it cannot be evaded. Under a profound conviction of impending dangers, the grounds whereof we have now set forth, we call upon you to deliver the Constitution and the Union from the subjugation which threatens both. Holding, with the late Mr. Calhoun, that "the obligation to repel aggression is not much less solemn than that of abstaining from making aggression, and that the party which submits to it, when it can be resisted, is not much less guilty and responsible for consequences than that which makes it," we invoke a surrender of all party prejudices and all personal feelings, and a cordial and earnest union for the vindication of rights and liberties which we cannot surrender without degradation and shame. We summon you to send delegates, in numbers three times as large as your representation in Congress, to meet in Convention at Philadelphia, on the 17th day of June next, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States. Let them come prepared to surrender all personal preferences, and all sectional or local views—resolved only to make such nominations and to take such action as shall advance the principles we hold and the purposes we seek to promote. Disclaiming any intention to interfere with Slavery in the States where it exists, or to invalidate those portions of the Constitution by which it is removed from the national control, let us prevent the General Government from its ascendency, bring back its administration to the principles and the practice of its wise and illustrious founders, and thus vindicate the Constitution and the Union, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity.

We do therefore declare to the people of the United States, as objects for which we unite in political action:

1. We demand and shall attempt to secure the repeal of all laws which allow the introduction of Slavery into Territories once consecrated to Freedom, and will resist by every constitutional means the existence of Slavery in any of the Territories of the United States.

2. We will support by every lawful means our brethren in Kansas in their constitutional and manly resistance to the usurped authority of their lawless invaders, and will give the full weight of our political power in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union as a free, sovereign, and independent State.

3. Believing that the present National Administration has shown itself to be weak and faithless, and that its continuance in power is identified with the progress of the slave power to national supremacy, with the exclusion of Freedom from the Territory, and with increasing civil discord, it is a leading purpose of our organization to oppose and overthrow it.

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